



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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N O T I C E

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Djibouti

Pilot: Ethiopian Rebels Have Reached Capital

AB2305154291 Paris AFP in English 1509 GMT
23 May 91

[Text] Djibouti, May 23 (AFP)—Some rebel units have already reached the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, an Air Force pilot who fled here in a training plane said on Thursday. Captain Fisseha Melese Desta, 33, said nobody any longer knew who was in charge in Addis. Diplomatic sources said earlier units of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front were 30 kilometres (18 miles) from the city.

Capt. Desta, who fled with trainee pilot Kassahun Birarra from the Debre Zeit base 40 kilometres (25 miles) south-east of Addis Ababa, told local journalists in Djibouti that he feared being killed by the rebels who were nearby. "Morale is very low," he said. "The soldiers do not want to fight any more." He added that the rebels had no interest in negotiating for peace.

Ethiopia

Central Command Reports Intensification of War

EA2405140091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 1800 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] At a time when they might have been expected to give a positive response to the peace proposal, the Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] and Sha'biyyah [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] have continued with the war to impose their will by force. The struggle has continued in order to overcome this intensified war.

According to a statement by the National Campaign Command this evening, the TPLF and EPLF, defying the appeal by the government for a cease-fire to establish, immediately, a transitional government comprising all parties, have intensified the war on various fronts, thereby bringing the question of the unity and existence of our country to a very grave stage. To repulse the continuing atrocious war aimed at further bloodshed and the destabilization of the very existence of the country, the Revolutionary Army and the militia are making heavy sacrifices to fulfill the responsibility vested in them by the people, the Campaign Command further stated.

The Campaign Center, decrying the tension and hopelessness that has manifested itself at times since the former president left the country, stressed that the responsibility of all citizens was not to an individual but to the country and the people as a whole, therefore, the people should carry out their responsibilities with greater determination. The Campaign Center went on to say that all citizens should work in a truly Ethiopian spirit, more than ever before, in their respective fields to prove,

in their deeds, their support for the forces fighting at the various fronts. Now is the time to do this.

Army Withdrawal Reported as Rebels Advance

AB2405082891 London BBC World Service
in English 0630 GMT 24 May 91

[From the "African News"]

[Text] Ethiopian Government troops have been withdrawing to the capital, Addis Ababa, in the face of advancing rebel forces. The rebels say they are approaching the city on three fronts and have captured another three towns. Tanks and hundreds of troops have been stationed around the presidential palace. Many soldiers have deserted and Air Force pilots have defected with their planes to Djibouti and Sudan. Diplomatic pressure is being exerted by the United States and the European Community to try to persuade the rebels not to enter Addis Ababa, at least until peace talks planned for London next week have taken place, but the two main rebel movements have rejected calls for a cease-fire.

EPRDF Captures Debre Birhan, Other Towns

EA2405141891 (Clandestine) Voice of the Tigray
Revolution in Tigrinya to Ethiopia 1500 GMT
23 May 91

[Text] The heroic Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] people's army has captured the towns of Debre Birhan, Holeta [Genet], Welkite, and Weliso [Giyon]. The heroic EPRDF people's army captured the town of Weliso yesterday while it captured the towns of Debre Birhan, Welkite, and Holeta today. The Dergue Army in Debre Birhan retreated in disarray, and their leaders left them and fled as usual. Listeners, we will bring you the details as soon as we get them.

Oromo Rebels Urge Intensification of Struggle

EA2405104091 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo
Liberation in Oromo 1700 GMT 22 May 91

[Excerpts] Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam, who had been the head of the fascist Dergue government for the last 14 years, has fled the country because of the people's struggle. [passage omitted] Colonel Mengistu fled the country from Finifine [Addis Ababa] to Nairobi on 21 May, and is expected to fly to Harare, Zimbabwe.

As Mengistu's flight from the country does not mean that the problems of the people have been solved, the current military and political struggle must be intensified. The Oromo nation led by the Oromo Liberation Front, which is fighting for independence, must intensify the struggle more than ever before.

AFP Cites Diplomats on Addis Ababa Situation*AB2305180791 Paris AFP in English 1743 GMT
23 May 91*

[Excerpts] Nairobi, May 23 (AFP)—Ethiopian rebels advanced to within 30 kilometres (18 miles) of Addis Ababa on Thursday and seemed poised to take the capital following the flight of military strongman Mengistu Haile-Mariam, diplomats said.

Both the main rebel movements have spurned acting President Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan's offer of an immediate cease-fire before U.S. peace talks due to open in London on Monday, raising fears of a bloodbath if they shoot their way into Addis Ababa.

Diplomats here said the army had collapsed, with demoralised soldiers straggling back into the capital. "According to the latest reports the rebels are about 30 kilometres west of Addis and there's nothing standing between them and the city now," a diplomat said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The London spokesman of the Ehtiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) said the group had not given "any assurance" that it would not march on the capital, though diplomats here said the movement has stated publicly and privately that it would halt before Addis Ababa. Asefa Mamo said the front, which wants to set up a broad-based government, would attend the peace talks, but added: "What is happening on the ground is the determining factor, it has its own dynamics. We wouldn't have any problem taking over militarily."

The rebel movements are under pressure from the United States, the Soviet Union and the European Community not to enter Addis Ababa, at least not until after the peace talks, diplomats said.

Issias Afawerki, secretary-general of the other main rebel group, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), fighting for the independence of the Red Sea province of Eritrea, said in Khartoum that the movement would fight until the fall of the government, which he said was "expected in the next few days."

"Concern is mounting here," said a Western observer contacted by telephone. "The mood is apprehensive but the city is calm. People are stocking up on food, and prices are rising rapidly." [passage omitted]

Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe on Thursday said the country would "be only too happy" to give Col. Mengistu political asylum if he requested it, the ZIANA news agency said in Harare. Mr. Mugabe was talking to journalists in London after he had a meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, according to ZIANA. He said he had learned of Col. Mengistu's arrival in Zimbabwe, where the toppled Ethiopian leader owns property, shortly after leaving for Britain late Tuesday. "I am sure he is seeking to live there," Mr. Mugabe said. "If he

wants shelter we will provide it. We will be only too happy to provide shelter if in doing so it will provide stability in Ethiopia."

Israel Begins Airlifting Falashas Out of Country*AB2405132291 Paris AFP in English 1223 GMT
24 May 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa, May 24 (AFP)—An Israeli airlift to take Ethiopian Jews, known as Falashas, out of the civil war-torn country began here on Friday, diplomatic sources said. Two Boeing 707 passenger planes and two Hercules C130 transports arrived at Addis Ababa airport early in the morning. Several hundreds Falashas were on the tarmac.

Ethiopia is still gripped by armed strife following the flight of President Mengistu Haile-Mariam on Tuesday as rebels strengthened their grip around the capital.

About 18,000 Falashas are still in the country. They are expected, diplomats said, to join the 20,000 lifted out of the country in a previous, controversial operation by Israel.

MiG Pilot Seeks Political Asylum in Sudan*AB2305210091 Paris AFP in French
1935 GMT 23 May 91*

[Excerpt] Khartoum, 23 May (AFP)—A pilot of the Ethiopian Air Force has defected and landed in Sudan and asked for asylum, which was readily granted, a Sudanese military spokesman disclosed today. According to General Muhammad 'Abdallah Awaida, Captain Fantana Gallo landed at the Khartoum airport with his aircraft, a MiG-23, and requested political asylum. His request was granted by the Sudanese Government "in line with the lasting and good relations existing between Sudan and its neighbor, Ethiopia," Gen. Awaida explained. [passage omitted]

Kenya**AFP Reports Mengistu 'Tricked' Into Leaving***AB2305220191 Paris AFP in French 1920 GMT
23 May 91*

[Text] Nairobi, 23 May (AFP)—Former Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Mariam did not flee on 21 May when he left his country for Kenya, but he was tricked by his entourage, it was learned today from various sources contacted from the Kenyan capital.

According to these sources, the trick of which he was a victim was organized for the benefit of the "three T's"—Mr. Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan, the acting president; Tesfaye Dinka, the prime minister; and Tesfaye Wolde, the minister of interior—at the initiative of the United States and Israel.

The Ethiopian national radio said in the morning that Mr. Mengistu made people believe that he was going to visit a military training camp in Sidamo Province, in the southern part of the country. But he later forced his "Buffalo" aircraft pilot to head on toward Nairobi.

According to the radio, Mr. Mengistu ordered the pilot of his twin-engine plane, bearing the national colors, to head on to Kenya, just before the aircraft began descending on the military camp. This announcement generated a mini-demonstration in Addis Ababa where about 100 youths headed for the Revolution Square shouting "Mengistu thief!" and "Mengistu fugitive!"

But diplomatic sources pointed out that the "Red Negus" did not know that his trip to Nairobi would be one-way. Mr. Mengistu was accompanied as usual to the Addis Ababa International Airport by officials and flew out shortly after 0900 local time. After a long flight, the plane landed at Nairobi at 1240 local time. The former president was expected to hold secret talks with some representatives of the opposition, as he did a month earlier, the same sources said.

A few minutes before his arrival in Nairobi, the Ethiopian national radio announced that the president had resigned and left the country, without further details. At the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in the Kenyan capital, Mr. Mengistu waited one hour in the plane for the arrival of the Ethiopian ambassador, Mr. Assefa Wolde, who was in Kampala from where he will not return until 24 May.

It was in Nairobi that the "Red Negus" learned of the news that he had resigned. Later, he agreed to hold talks with the Kenyan presidency chief of protocol, Mr. Njuguna Mahugu. At 1600, he was received by President Daniel Arap Moi at the State House. Shortly after 2000, he left for Harare on board a Kenyan Boeing 707 that returned to Nairobi at about midnight.

The "trick," diplomatic sources explained, was conceived by the "3 T's," General Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan, who has been interim president since Tuesday after having been appointed only last month as vice president; Tesfaye Dinka, the prime minister; and Tesfaye Wolde, the minister of interior.

The role of the latter was, however, denied by sources close to the Ethiopian Government who did not question the involvement of Messrs. Gebre-Kidan and Dinka but affirmed that "Mr. Wolde did not know what was going on."

"The whole operation was conceived by the Americans with the support of the Israelis, who wanted to avoid a bloodbath in Ethiopia and act in such a way that the peace negotiations in London (which are beginning on Monday) should be a success. Mr. Mengistu was the main obstacle to this success," a diplomatic source stated. A month ago, an American diplomat told AFP that the United States "was thinking about the 3 T's as a spare solution" in Ethiopia.

"If Mr. Mengistu really wanted to escape, why should he not have taken along his wife, who went to Harare, where she often had the opportunity to go, on a regular flight," another diplomat pointed out.

For several months, Mr. Mengistu's family has been living in Zimbabwe where the "Red Negus" bought a ranch that several reports said had belonged to former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. Furthermore, all these sources remarked that Mr. Mengistu's "alleged flight" "does not correspond with the image of the personality who had sworn never to leave his country."

Mr. Mengistu openly admired Emperor Theodoros XI, who committed suicide in 1869 following a defeat by Great Britain.

Somalia

Siad Barre Reportedly Questions Madhi Presidency

AB2305104091 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 21 May 91

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] The whereabouts of Siad Barre, former president of Somalia, has been prompting questions, rumors, and speculation ever since he fled the capital, Mogadishu, in January following his overthrow by rebels of the United Somali Congress. So, where is he? Is he alive? Is he dead? One person can answer that question: Italian journalist Inchenzo Nigel. Inchenzo met ex-president Siad Barre in his hometown in southern Somalia as he has been telling Carolyn Dempster on the line from Nairobi.

[Begin recording] [Nigel] Siad Barre told me that he is very tired. The conditions in which he lives there in (Boldoba), that is the little, little town in his homeland are absolutely terrible. He has no current [running] water, no electricity in his home, in this little home which he lives.

[Dempster] Was it very difficult to get close to him? I mean surely, the fears for his security are quite high and he has a lot of his clansmen around him protecting him.

[Nigel] Yes, naturally, a lot of people with their Kalashnikovs and other arms. But the feeling during the interview was very good. You know, he speaks Italian very well and I am Italian. He was trained at a military school in Italy and he loved to speak Italian. He knows everything about Italy, about our politicians...

[Dempster, interrupting] Did he have anything to say about the developments in Mogadishu and the various factions that now appear to be in control or did he not appear to be interested any more in what was happening?

[Nigel] No, he was not so interested in what is going on in Mogadishu. He just remembered that when he was

there and the moment in which he took the decision to abandon Mogadishu when the fight was going on. [sentence as heard]

[Dempster] So, does he still see himself as president or is he prepared to relinquish his position?

[Nigel] The other time, he told me: I am the only president in Somalia, and I am the only elected president in Somalia. I asked him: You are not elected; you were appointed by a [word indistinct] or what you call a revolution. He answered me: Yes, there was a revolution but after several years we had elections and I gained 99 percent of the electorate, of the votes. I also asked him something about the new interim president, Mr. Ali Mahdi, who is now in Mogadishu, and he answered me that: Oh, this guy is not the president; absolutely not the president of Somalia. [end recording]

Uganda

Deputy Premier in Talks With CPSU Delegation

EA2305154891 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 0400 GMT 21 May 91

[Excerpts] A two-man delegation of the Soviet Communist Party currently in Uganda for a five-day visit has

met the first deputy prime minister and national political commissar, Mr. Eriya Kategaya, at his office in Kampala. The two sides discussed a wide range of issues intended to promote cooperation between the NRM [National Resistance Movement] and the Soviet Communist Party. The delegation is headed by a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and member of parliament. The other is Mr. (Vladimir Sandrov) executive of the international department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Among the issues discussed was the possibility of cooperation in setting up a youth center in Apac to help the Ugandan youth leadership qualities. [passage omitted]

Mr. Kategaya also raised the problem of Ugandan students in the Soviet Union whose scholarships are no longer adequate due to inflation, and said that there is need to seek a solution to give them adequate financial support. Other issues discussed include the international situation, the post Cold War, the new international order and the way it is going to affect Africa, and the future of this region.

Talking about socialism in the Soviet Union, Mr. Shirshin said that the Soviet leadership and the vast majority of the people in the country are still convinced that socialism is comparatively good. [passage omitted]

De Klerk Opens Conference on Violence 24 May

MB2405081991 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk has called for a mighty effort from all peace-loving South Africans to end the ongoing political violence in the country. John Matham reports the president said this is vital because certain areas in the country are ankle-deep in blood:

[Matham] De Klerk was speaking at the opening of a two-day conference on violence convened by his government. He said his government wants to listen rather than speak and asked for suggestions and advice from the participants.

He said the government accepts its full responsibility for maintaining law and order but despite its committed efforts violence and intimidation continue to tear apart the fabric of society.

More needs to be done, he said, and asked for help in deciding what that more should be. He said the conference should not be small-minded and attacked those who aren't present, rather, the conference should make an early start and commit itself to peace.

Viljoen Discusses Conference

MB2305190691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1842 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Cape Town May 23 SAPA—The government did not see the conference on violence and intimidation which begins tomorrow in Pretoria as the last word on violence, the minister of constitutional development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in a statement on Thursday. "Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days."

The organisers of the conference, planned for May 24 and 25, were pleased at the large number of invitees who had indicated they would attend.

"More than 200 participants, a representative group of leaders from the broad South African community, are expected.

"The good response reflects the sense of responsibility felt by South Africans across a broad spectrum who want to contribute to solving the issue of violence.

"Another positive aspect is the number of scientists and other experts on violence among those attending."

The list of participants indicated that the conference promised to be a significant event, despite the decision of some political and other leaders not to attend.

Defense Minister Discusses White Power Sharing

MB2305191091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1837 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Bloemfontein May 23 SAPA—The fact that the white man was prepared to share power did not mean that his power structure was in any way collapsing. The minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, said on Thursday. Addressing the Afrikanerklub in Bloemfontein, he also said the ANC [African National Congress] was using delaying tactics in addressing the question of violence.

It was whites, driven by considerations of justice, who were taking the lead in recognising the political aspirations of black people. "The white man is in fact the chief agent in this connection.... Let us also say it straight to one another: the fact that the white man is prepared to share power does not mean that his power structure is collapsing in any way."

Gen Malan said the ANC, PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party] claimed they represented the overwhelming majority of blacks.

"However, the fact that they use intimidation, such as necklace murders, as a primary method of mobilising support, places a question mark on the extent and depth of their intrinsic support."

Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani was a maverick within the ANC who used provocative and arrogant language, and displayed anything but a serious search for order and stability.

The ANC ran the danger of talking and threatening itself out of the political process if it did not get its house in order. "This sort of tactic, together with organising protest marches, consumer boycotts, stayaway actions and so on, create serious doubt whether the ANC really understands the democratic process."

It appeared that the ANC was dawdling and using delaying tactics in addressing the problem of violence, while at the same time holding the government solely responsible for it. "No authority can ensure safety in residential areas if it has to reckon with a political onslaught that has nothing to do with civilised methods, and which has no justification."

A great row was being kicked up over dangerous weapons such as pangas, axes and knives. This type of weapon was however responsible for 18 per cent of black deaths, while firearms and explosives were responsible for more than 50 per cent. Most of these guns were AK47s. Necklacings, burnings and other atrocities were mainly responsible for the rest.

The ANC's unwillingness to hand over the weapons it had put in the hands of belligerent people raised the question whether it had a hidden intention of taking over power by force.

ILANGA Eyes ANC-Government 'Secret Deal'

MB2305163091 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
16-18 May 91 p 7

[From the "News background" column: "Are the Bartle Freres of the ANC bent on destroying KwaZulu?"—article published in English]

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] Deputy President, Dr. Nelson Mandela, has repeated his ultimatum to the government that the ANC will not take part in negotiations unless it outlawed the carrying of spears.

And there are increasing signs that State President de Klerk is giving serious consideration to giving into the ANC demand. Why, one asks oneself, has the question of "cultural weapons" become the central issue which will determine whether or not the ANC will take part in negotiations?

What has happened to all the other demands made in the ANC's open letter to the state president? Why, do we no longer hear about the demand that Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok be summarily dismissed?

The government's attitude is beginning to arouse more and more suspicion among Zulu people that it has done a secret deal with the ANC behind the backs of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Movement] and the Zulu people.

Is it possible that State President de Klerk has agreed to outlaw "traditional weapons" to appease the ANC and get it back to the negotiating table? Is that why we no longer hear about the issue of the sacking of the two ministers, a demand which it is impossible for the state president to accept?

Is the IFP to be the sacrificial lamb to get the state president and Dr. Mandela's ANC off the hook?

Well, it appears from Press reports that the IFP's Dr. M.G. Buthelezi, travelled to Cape Town last night to meet with the state president. It does not need a sage to guess that the issue of traditional weapons was the topic of conversation.

Equally, for anybody that knows the Zulu people and knows the history of ANC assaults on KwaZulu and the IFP in recent years, there can be no doubt at all that Dr. Buthelezi really has no choice in the matter.

If it is impossible for State President de Klerk to give in to the ANC demand that he sack his ministers of defence and police, then it is even more impossible for the IFP or Dr. Buthelezi to agree to the outlawing of traditional weapons. If the state president bans the carrying of traditional weapons, it is a certainty that he will have to

accept a bi-partisan engagement with the ANC if he wishes to push on with negotiations.

The government's behavior over the whole issue seems to indicate that it will almost go to any length to appease the ANC and to keep its newly found credibility with the outside world intact.

The raids conducted on Zulu hostels indicate this. It is almost impossible to believe that the South African police could actually agree to raid Zulu hostels on the Reef in the presence of ANC lawyers and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation;—ANC military wing].

Through this action the South African Government knowingly, or unknowingly, gave credibility to the ANC propaganda to the effect that the IFP was the cause of the violence on the Reef.

How is it possible for the South African Government to conduct a raid on hostels in the glare of publicity, yet allow the increasing deployment of "Defence Committees" under the control of the South African Communist Party [SACP] and Umkhonto commanders? Is the government not aware of the fact that the ANC and its allies are establishing more and more arms caches within South Africa? If it is, what is it doing about the matter? Where are the public raids?

The government knows that the vast majority of people being killed in the unrest sweeping the country are being murdered and killed with firearms.

Yet, the big issue on which negotiations now seemingly turn is the (Zulu) spear. Why?

What irony that the police actually conduct raids with Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) commissars and then the head of government spends a vast amount of time debating whether the spear should be outlawed.

And the government does so while Umkhonto commissars loudly proclaim that the revolutionary alliance will seize power from the "regime".

The ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, has actually written an introduction to a propaganda comic prepared by the movement's "political education" department in which figures in military uniform leave no doubt that if negotiations fail, power will be seized by force of arms. The book is being distributed countrywide. Is the government happy to accept this while it argues about carrying spears in public?

And what about the ANC's official emblem, the shield and the spear? If the government bans cultural weapons, are we to believe that that emblem will be outlawed?

Let us look at the matter in historical perspective in an effort to understand what is going on.

In 1879 a foreign power wished to establish its hegemony in South Africa. The greatest obstacle it faced in this part of the country was the strong and independent Zulu Kingdom of King Cetshwayo.

And so its agents contrived to start a war with the kingdom. It did so by issuing ultimatums. The most important one was a demand that the Zulu army be disbanded. The colonial power knew that that was a impossible demand and that it must lead to war. It did, when the British invaded KwaZulu.

Today a new set of Bartle Freres are again busily issuing ultimatums. Either ban cultural weapons or we refuse to talk. The implication? That there will be a fight?

The commissars who control the ANC might know little about cultural weapons and even less about our history. But what they do know, is that KwaZulu and its people are the one immovable object that stands in the way of their plan to get the vanguard movement in power in preparation for the second stage in preparation for the second stage of their revolution to establish a communist utopia in South Africa.

And so they connive to destroy KwaZulu—something they have been busy with since 1979, one hundred years after the British began with their plan. They are spoiling for a fight.

Listen to what the SACP's commissar and ANC Tsarina, Gill Marcus had to say on the subject in the Natal Witness this week: "ANC representative Gill Marcus drew attention to the battle of Isandlwana where British troops were slaughtered, with assegais. Were those not spears and were they not deadly weapons," she asked.

And, we suppose, the Zulu people who "slaughtered" the innocents at Isandlwana, are the same nasty aggressors that the ANC would have the world believe attack their peace-loving supporters today.

The Zulu Kingdom was subjected to an unprovoked attack in 1879 and it is being subjected to a similar onslaught today. Before and after Isandlwana the Zulu King did everything in this power to sue for peace.

His descendants are doing exactly the same to this day. And what do they get in return from the heirs of those who sought to destroy the Zulu Kingdom in 1879? It certainly is not thanks.

Tutu Talks With De Klerk, Addresses Reporters

MB2305161891 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Archbishop Desmond Tutu says President F. W. de Klerk accepts that the death of any of the hunger-striking political prisoners will be horrendous for South Africa. Tutu spent one and a half hours discussing the issue with the president and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in Cape Town this afternoon.

Tutu told journalists after the meeting that De Klerk gave assurances during the discussion that he intends to speed up the administrative process leading to the release of the hunger-striking prisoners. Tutu says he told the president people are more important than processes.

Tutu says Coetsee put the number of hunger strikers at 70. However, other sources have said there could be as many as 200 prisoners who are refusing food.

Cash Crisis Brings Return of Exiles to a Halt

MB2305114891 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 23 May 91 p 1

[Report by Patrick Bulger: "Cash Crisis Brings Return of Exiles to a Halt"]

[Text] A cash shortage has temporarily stopped the return of SA [South African] exiles as both the ANC [African National Congress] and the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Return of SA Exiles (NCCR) have run out of money for the programme.

Poverty stricken exiles whom the ANC promised R[and]800 a month for the first six months after returning to SA, were being given a once-off R2,500 grant by the ANC and a further R300 by the NCCR, an NCCR source said.

Exiles were then having to rely on the generosity of friends and families, the source said, adding that many were living in poverty stricken conditions.

A donors' conference being organised by NCCR officials on a one-week visit to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva is being relied upon to reverse the NCCR's money problems. And a grant from the EC of R1.4m [million] at the end of July will ease the NCCR's financial crisis.

Since the start of the repatriation programme the NCCR has spent R2.5m. The source said international donors remained reluctant to give money. Instead they wanted the money to go to the UNHCR.

"The ANC has no money of its own to pay for flights for exiles coming back," the source said. Unless more money was forthcoming, the NCCR might be forced to "close up shop", the source said.

To date fewer than 1,000 exiles have returned, far fewer than the 40,000 the ANC spoke of getting back into the country in line with an agreement with government.

To add to the NCCR's woes, the Post Office yesterday cut off its telephones after staff failed to pay an account. The bill was paid later and the service restored.

W. Mandela Released on Bail; Trials 21 Jun

MB2205194491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1845 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Mrs. Winnie Mandela appeared in the magistrate's court in Johannesburg this evening charged with resisting arrest and obstruction. Earlier today she appeared in court on similar charges relating to a separate incident. Mrs. Mandela was arrested this afternoon for the second time today after a crowd of about 100 ANC [African National Congress] supporters had held a sit-down protest in the center of Johannesburg and had refused to disperse when ordered to do so by the police. Both cases were postponed until 21 June. Mrs. Mandela was released on her own recognizances.

Thatcher Gives Durban Address, Departs 22 May

MB2205175491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1500 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has called on world leaders to respond positively to the changes in South Africa by encouraging the progress of reform, by renewing sports ties, and by massive investment. Delivering a Jan Smuts memorial lecture in Durban, Mrs. Thatcher emphasized that it was not just a question of pressing the South African Government to make unlimited concessions but of urging all concerned to proceed quickly to negotiating a new constitution. Mrs. Thatcher returns to London this evening after addressing a news conference in Durban.

Buthelezi To Visit U.S. in June, Meet Bush

MB2405083191 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to visit the United States for a week in mid-June to meet President George Bush and seek American support for his Inkatha Freedom Party. Buthelezi is scheduled to meet Bush in Washington on 20 June as part of a tour that includes speeches and television appearances. Inkatha's chief U.S. representative, Rev. Sipho Mzimela, says the trip is needed because Buthelezi's image and political views have been terribly distorted in the American media.

23 May Press on Negotiations, Land Rights

MB2305110291

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Real Bargaining South Africa's Most Pressing Priority—"The detailed comparison between the government's and the ANC's [African National Congress] latest visions of the 'new South Africa', and how to get to

it...made for sober reading. The two sides seemed to be talking about different countries," begins the page 24 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 May. Examining the positions of the two organizations "deep disagreement" exists between the government and the ANC on "almost every basic premise and principle," and real negotiations have not even begun yet. "On the face of it, the situation looks pretty hopeless." "Real negotiations, as the name implies, demand give and take on issues that *really* hurts. The public, black and white, must be prepared for this. The longer we must wait for the real thing, the more intransigent each side becomes—hence the more painful the eventual compromises. Pretoria has constitutional ideas that deserve serious attention. So does the ANC. Their edges will soften only when they are in constant contact with one another. The timely beginning of the real bargaining is South Africa's most pressing priority," the editorial concludes.

BUSINESS DAY

Government Doesn't Understand Public Relations—"Government doesn't quite understand the new South Africa it is trying to create. Nor does it have slick public relations to deal with the current protests and hunger strikes aimed at freeing political prisoners," begins a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 May. "The ANC is now a legal political organisation, quite within its rights if it seeks to press government locally and internationally on the prisoners issue." Getting arrested and hunger strikes are political acts meant to gain international publicity for the prisoners issue. "Government's principal response is to label the hunger strikers and other demonstrators irresponsible; that seeks to belittle them and their cause without addressing the issues they have raised." "The issue is political prisoners.... some are still being held." "Government should explain that, detailing why some are still in prison, whether they can be defined as political prisoners and what has caused the delay. Its case is being lost in perjury while the ANC makes the headlines."

BEELD

Uncertainty About Land Ownership Rights—"It is not easy to get rid of apartheid," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 17 May. "The dilemma in which the government found itself after the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the two laws concerning land ownership is proof of that. Both the Urban Foundation and the Labor Party are opposed to the new legislation which the government plans to introduce in place of these three apartheid laws." "Meanwhile, the uncertainty about the future of property rights and the maintaining of acceptable standards in residential areas continues. It creates an ideal opportunity for, among others, the Conservative Party, to give farmers the impression that they cannot be sure about property rights regarding their own land. The result is what happened at Ventersdorp." "The Urban Foundation has suggested that political groups discuss the matter, but this could take up to two years."

Angola

Dos Santos on Meeting Savimbi, Food Distribution

MB2305201791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in Benguela this afternoon that there is no official document from Mr. Jonas Savimbi, the president of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], on the holding of a meeting between the two of them before the signing of the Bicesse accords later this month. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was speaking in an exclusive interview with Benguela reporters at the end of his visit to that province. President Dos Santos disclosed that everything he knows has been learned through the international media.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] In any event, I think that what matters is the signing of the Bicesse accords, because these will determine, let us say, the future of peace in Angola. Afterward, we will not mind making arrangements for such a meeting. [end recording]

Asked to comment on the integration of persons under UNITA control into the administrative food supply system [sistema de abastecimento alimentar administrativo], His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos said:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] UNITA elements are also Angolans. I think that they live like every other Angolan. They do not enjoy special treatment or privileges. If the administrative trade [comercio administrativo] system remains in force, we will see how to integrate them, unless UNITA elements can survive on their own, and have their own supply system. I do not think, however, that they have such a system, and if they do, their resources cannot last forever. Nevertheless, you know that the government intends to do away with the administrative trade system. The government's plan of action is designed to do away with that system this year. [end recording]

President Dos Santos then gave a brief account of his visit to Benguela Province. He said that during his visit a social (?uplifting) program was approved for the province. The program will not solve all of the province's problems, but will be of great help while financial resources for a more comprehensive program are not allocated.

KUP Criticizes Dos Santos Remarks on Cubans

MB2405083591 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1905 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Jamba, May 23..... The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' declaration that Cuban forces in Angola have done a commendable job has met bitter indignation from politicians in Jamba. The politicians say Cuban troops have done virtually nothing other than massacring and destroying Angola's patrimony since they

invaded the country 16 years ago. They added that [it] is absurd to hear Dos Santos praising Cubans who have plunged Angola into unforetold chaos.

According to the political observers, the MPLA president's praise on the Cuban role in Angola contradicts with the real chaotic situation as stated in the MPLA Central Committee report read to the MPLA congress held in Luanda last month by Dino Matross.

Savimbi Calls for UN Peacekeeping Force

PM1505090691 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 6 May 91 p 12

[Interview with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), by Eduardo Helder in Bonn; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Helder] A period of change is being experienced. In Angola, and not just there, there are those who are apprehensive about the formation of a national army comprising troops from the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and your movement. Do you also share these apprehensions?

[Savimbi] No, I am really optimistic. Those men fought each other for 16 years. Some people had illusions about the possibility of a military victory, but on both sides they reached the conclusion that this was not feasible. So it was UNITA and MPLA troops, who were opponents, who conveyed the message to the politicians: "Do not count on us for a military victory." For their part, the latter had to acknowledge that this was so and to accept that the only course was that of negotiations. That is why I am convinced that the military personnel, weary of 16 years of war, will get along.

I am still concerned about the solution which the politico-military joint commission will find to resolve the problem of those who are left out. It is necessary to provide right now—if not a program, which would be the ideal solution—then at least a word of consolation to make them realize that the government will take their past into account. Because those who fought all these years should be entitled not just to a word of thanks, on the lines of "thank you very much for your sacrifice, for the blood you have shed; now you can return to your villages." It is here that we wish to work sincerely with the MPLA leaders to make it possible to find the socioeconomic solutions which could lead to those men's retraining for civilian life.

[Helder] That whole problem prompts me to ask whether you are in agreement with the presence of a UN peacekeeping force in Angola.

[Savimbi] The protocol signed in Estoril is very clear on this point. A UN representative was there for that very reason; so that we can have an assurance that one side cannot accuse the other of a possible breach of the

cease-fire. That is the role which rests with the United Nations, whose reputation is sufficient to ensure that if that matter is raised, it is because one side has indeed breached the agreement. Moreover, this is one of the reasons which prompt us to view the agreement with satisfaction, since it has all the ingredients for making peace in Angola a reality.

[Helder] Does the way in which you advocate rapprochement between Angola and the Portuguese people mean that you believe that we are "destined" to live with each other?

[Savimbi] We are not destined; we need to do so. Portugal needs Angola, just as we need Portugal. What is needed is for us to establish new relations of true friendship. I am not much in agreement when people talk about emigrants or aid workers. I believe that that is not the right expression. There can be a closer relationship between us and the Portuguese, without inflexible laws. The Portuguese will be able to go to Angola, just as we Angolans will be able to go to Portugal, without any constraints. That is what I want, since it is in our mutual interest.

[Helder] Let us assume that you win the elections. Could you disclose some points of your program for Angola?

[Savimbi] Our campaign will center on three issues: First, peace, because it is necessary and is a prerequisite for everything that we wish to do; second, democracy; and, third, national solidarity.

[Helder] In your opinion, were the U.S. Government's participation and the Soviet Government's cooperation important for the advancement of the whole process? And what about the role played by the Portuguese?

[Savimbi] It was very important. I will also take the opportunity to point out that we were the first to ask Portugal officially to play the role of mediator. Prime Minister Dr. Cavaco Silva and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Dr. Durao Barroso hesitated, and we did not receive consent immediately; however, we persisted. UNITA committed itself strongly. Then the MPLA accepted. Otherwise, it would have meant going against history, because it was we who persisted and the MPLA accepted. In January 1990, when I visited Portugal, the MPLA leaders were considering asking the Cape Verde Government to act as mediator. I repeat, however, that we backed Portugal. So we were pleased by Portugal's acceptance and the attainment of what was achieved. Portugal, the MPLA, UNITA, the Americans, the Soviets, and the United Nations are all jointly responsible for the agreements' materializing.

[Helder] Can you confirm that you will be in Luanda in July?

[Savimbi] Yes, and it will not be earlier just because of a matter of consistency. We fought the Cubans, so it will be only after they leave. In Luanda because it is the

capital of Angola, and not just any capital. It was a beautiful city. It was a pearl in Africa. We want it to be again the most beautiful city in southern Africa.

[Helder] Do you accept the possibility of meeting with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos within the next few days?

[Savimbi] Without a doubt! I can even say—even if this may displease MPLA members, who accuse me of talking a great deal; but if this were not so we could not agree—that I have already taken the initiative of contacting some heads of state to make this possible. To arrive in Portugal with a solemn, stiff atmosphere, and just to shake hands in a formal manner will not be a good thing. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and I must talk, just as happened between myself and Dr. Agostinho Neto. I often went from my house to his in Luanda at night, just for us to talk. We did not always agree. That is why I believe that Jose Eduardo dos Santos and I are bound to discuss together the problems of peace in the elections, partly because everything that he knows about me comes from his propaganda machine, and what I know about him comes from mine. So I am prepared to meet now in any African country. I would not like the handshake which we make to be as cold as that at Gbadolite. It is important for us both, and also for the Angolan people and for Portugal, because receiving us without tension would be good for the process.

Views U.S. Aid, Prospects for Angola

PM2305132391 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
18 May 91 p B6

[Interview with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi by Daniel Ribeiro in Brussels; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ribeiro] Is there any fighting in Angola right now?

[Savimbi] I called Angola, gave instructions for the fighting to end, and in fact it has ended. If, as I believe, the other side keeps its word, the cease-fire will be final. The war now belongs to the past.

[Ribeiro] What is the reason for the meetings in Brussels with Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro in the early hours of Wednesday, and with U.S. Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen in the morning?

[Savimbi] In the first place I would like to say that Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro was the first member of Professor Cavaco Silva's government I met, long ago, and between us there is, I will not say a friendship but a rapport which works very easily. I informed him that UNITA has stopped the fighting and that I will arrive in Lisbon 29 May to sign the final cease-fire agreement 31 May.

[Ribeiro] What about Herman Cohen?

[Savimbi] Cohen wished to find out how the situation was developing and whether we were prepared to continue the process which was started in Estoril or whether we had any misgivings. I told him that we will honor our commitments, but Herman Cohen came primarily to explain to us how the U.S. aid for UNITA will be handled after the cease-fire agreement is signed.

[Ribeiro] In what form will U.S. aid continue?

[Savimbi] It will continue in all respects except with regard to arms.

[Ribeiro] Why was there such heavy fighting recently, after the signing of the preliminary agreements?

[Savimbi] The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] tried to exaggerate; there was no heavy fighting. We do not wish to play the MPLA's game. The MPLA took many UNITA positions, especially in Uila and Cuanza Sul Provinces, and tried to take advantage of the situation. We do not act like the MPLA; we do not exaggerate the situation because we do not wish to vindicate the skeptics who say that the cease-fire is fragile. We believe that the MPLA's taking a few more towns is of absolutely no importance in the current situation in Angola.

[Ribeiro] Did UNITA not attack Luena?

[Savimbi] We attacked, but with the aim of driving the MPLA toward Luena, because its troops had already taken Salema and Chicala, with the avowed aim of taking Cangumbe, Cangonga, Munhango, and Cuemba next. We drew the MPLA toward Luena with the aim of ensuring that Luena would no longer act as a springboard for further attacks. Our aim was to contain the fighting.

[Ribeiro] So that fighting was a final trial of strength before the peace?

[Savimbi] We have already seen the MPLA's conduct in 1989, when it presented what it called a peace plan to President Mobutu. At that time it conducted a major offensive which it called the "final assault." This time, we did not want another "final assault"; we wanted the negotiations to be serious and the situation on the spot to remain unchanged.

[Ribeiro] How do you react to the criticisms at the beginning of this week by President Eduardo dos Santos, who accuses UNITA of acting in bad faith and sabotaging the agreements?

[Savimbi] I did not listen to them, nor is it worthwhile. I believe that neither we nor the MPLA now has scope for turning back after the agreements which have been signed.

[Ribeiro] Is it impossible to turn back?

[Savimbi] Nobody can turn back, and we do not wish to do so. It is simply that what the MPLA has wanted from the outset is to eliminate UNITA. We prefer to keep

quiet and to express our confidence in the agreements and in the peace. Eduardo dos Santos is head of state and should have the stature of a head of state—not that of an ordinary MPLA member. We will honor the agreements.

[Ribeiro] But there is great distrust between the MPLA and UNITA. Could that distrust call the peace into question?

[Savimbi] It cannot. I proposed that Eduardo dos Santos and I meet before the signing of the cease-fire agreement. I want our relations to become more relaxed. He must become accustomed to living with us, because he will have to live with us. Eduardo dos Santos is shy and evades contact, but for how long? After the cease-fire agreement is signed on 31 May we will have to live side by side in Luanda. That was why I proposed that meeting, but he has not yet responded.

[Ribeiro] Do you not believe that it will be difficult, for instance, to set up a single army, and that there could be friction within it?

[Savimbi] I believe there will be no problems; but if they do arise, the existence of the joint military-political commission will resolve them.

[Ribeiro] But there could be friction in the future in a single army of 50,000 men.

[Savimbi] No. I even believe that the army will cooperate more because the military are eager for peace. It must be said that on 15 May, for the first time, the MPLA's radio station twice broadcast my statement on the cessation of hostilities, carrying it in full and without comment. So I believe that the MPLA is also interested in peace.

[Ribeiro] Will UNITA keep the Voice of the Black Cockerel radio station?

[Savimbi] It depends. If the MPLA shows openness, which means that all parties will have access to radio and television, we will not keep our radio station, but if the MPLA maintains a certain exclusiveness, our radio station will continue to broadcast.

[Ribeiro] Do you not agree with the press law in its current form?

[Savimbi] I cannot agree in any way, nor can the other parties agree. If they agree, it is because they are not parties; it is because they are subordinate to the MPLA or are opportunists.

[Ribeiro] UNITA is, therefore, seeking equal treatment in the press and in the audiovisual news media. Despite this, will you found a newspaper in Angola?

[Savimbi] If they each wish to set up their newspapers, let them do so; but my opinion is that it would be a good thing for us to have a free and independent press in Angola.

[Ribeiro] Where will UNITA headquarters be from now on?

[Savimbi] In Luanda. We will be in Luanda as of 1 July.

[Ribeiro] Are you also going there on that date?

[Savimbi] I am indeed going; I am not in the habit of ordering others to do the fighting for me.

[Ribeiro] Are you afraid of disturbances and the settling of scores in Luanda?

[Savimbi] No.

[Ribeiro] But the Luanda authorities say that they are afraid of disturbances in the capital.

[Savimbi] Why? Because of my presence? It is they who are very nervous; it is they who were in power for 16 years and made many mistakes. The Angolan people know this. I wish to say that I am open, am not afraid, and want a serious political contest. I am not afraid of any disturbances.

[Ribeiro] What will become of Jamba?

[Savimbi] It remains a symbol of the resistance.

[Ribeiro] How did you live in Jamba?

[Savimbi] I lived the life of a guerrilla; I did the work where necessary, but I was not constantly in Jamba.

[Ribeiro] How did the troops communicate with their families?

[Savimbi] We have a very efficient radio system. Even from here—from this hotel in Brussels—I communicate with the fronts. I do not communicate with Jamba alone.

[Ribeiro] Can you now say anything new about how the U.S. military aid reached UNITA?

[Savimbi] No. The Americans must be asked that.

[Ribeiro] What assessment do you make of these 15 years of war? Was it worthwhile despite the fatalities?

[Savimbi] Absolutely. Only in that way was it possible to secure a multiparty system and elections. The MPLA wanted power for itself alone; it regarded itself as a providential movement. I believe that the MPLA will be opposed in Luanda more than in other areas.

[Ribeiro] Does UNITA already have an organization set up for the political struggle?

[Savimbi] Of course! We have cadres capable of conducting a political campaign superior to that of the MPLA.

[Ribeiro] Do you have international support? Will you have international advisers for the election campaign?

[Savimbi] The MPLA has those who came from Brazil. I do not like this much. There are areas—for instance, in the economy—where experts are needed, but we do not

need this in communication with the Angolan people. Apart from this, we have a great deal of international support.

[Ribeiro] What will UNITA's campaign be? What will be the dominant issues?

[Savimbi] Peace, democracy, and national solidarity.

[Ribeiro] What will be the main economic aspects of the campaign?

[Savimbi] We want a liberal market economy in which private enterprise will have a very important role. We want the Angolans to go into business with small- and medium-scale commerce... We wish to create a middle class capable of stabilizing the economic and social situation.

[Ribeiro] The MPLA calls itself a democratic socialist party, and so does UNITA. Will you contend for the same ground, the same voters?

[Savimbi] We have different areas. The MPLA is a Marxist-Leninist communist party. We have always been a party of the center. The MPLA does not change because of a decree.

[Ribeiro] UNITA is sometimes accused of being capable of encouraging tribalism in Angola.

[Savimbi] That is a lie. It is the MPLA which says this. We have people from all parts of Angola in our ranks. I believe that those accusations of tribalism or racism will have no effect. The question is as follows: What has the MPLA done with Angola's money for 16 years?

[Ribeiro] What is your opinion of the negritude movement's theories?

[Savimbi] The negritude movement was not racism; it was a matter of identity. The movement's main exponents were Aime Cesaire, from the Antilles, who is a half-caste, and Leopold Senghor, who is married to a French woman.

[Ribeiro] Do you draw any distinction between, for instance, the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] and other parties which are being set up in Angola?

[Savimbi] Obviously. Holden Roberto took part in the national liberation struggle; he it was who began the armed struggle on 15 March 1961—not the MPLA on 4 February. The MPLA has told many lies. I regard the MPLA as a political opponent, not as an enemy, and I had a great deal of respect for Dr. Agostinho Neto. The MPLA has a chance of being revived. It is true that Holden Roberto has been absent from the political scene for a long time, but there really is a considerable difference between him and the movements which are now emerging.

[Ribeiro] Do you regard them as appendages to the MPLA?

[Savimbi] They certainly are subordinate to the MPLA. Some of them have been in Luanda for a long time, before the law on parties was drafted. It is a law which was not even properly made. The assembly which they call a people's assembly did not succeed in defining exactly what the political parties' prerogatives are. Those parties, however, are already operating and making statements; they are creations of the MPLA. That makes no sense. Let us consider the matter of Paulo Tuba, who is actually called Paul Tuba. He says that he now has ideological identity with the MPLA. What is that? Paul Tuba was a prominent leader of the FNLA...

[Ribeiro] How do you view the issue of Cabinda and the FLEC [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave]?

[Savimbi] With great concern, and it is necessary to talk with FLEC. Cabinda has its own identity, which must be taken into account; war must not be waged in Cabinda because of the oil.

[Ribeiro] Do you advocate autonomy or independence?

[Savimbi] Autonomy. Not independence, because it is not even in the interest of the people of Cabinda. The people of Cabinda will also be consulted in due course.

[Ribeiro] How do you view Eduardo dos Santos' current rapprochement with the Catholic Church?

[Savimbi] He must be very careful, because the church for many years condemned in pastoral letters the totalitarian system, the Cubans' intervention... The Catholic Church has many clergy who will not forget, despite the fact that premises which were used as barracks for the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola are now being returned. This eleventh-hour rapprochement has to do only with political motives, and will have no effect.

[Ribeiro] Do you advocate religious freedom? How do you view a possible increase in church intervention in Angola?

[Savimbi] Exactly. I am a protestant, but I respect the Catholics. The Catholics were very patriotic in the struggle against Russo-Cuban neocolonialism. The church is composed of Angolan citizens and so can play a part. It did so during the most difficult times, so why not now?

[Ribeiro] You are married and have five children. Where are your children studying?

[Savimbi] We have a law which stipulates that young people cannot leave Jamba for abroad until their ninth year at school. Next year, a girl and two boys will be doing their ninth year, then they will go to Portugal to study, because of the language.

[Ribeiro] With you in power, what will Portugal be for Angola?

[Savimbi] We will have close relations. Just consider: I arrived from Strasbourg at 0020 hours and found a message here from the Portuguese foreign minister, who said that he wished to see me. I did not hesitate: I went to meet with him at the Portuguese Embassy at 0200 hours. I wish to cooperate with Portugal as much as I can.

[Ribeiro] Are your relations with the government as good as they are with the Presidency?

[Savimbi] I wish to be precise. When I went to Portugal in January 1990, it was the president of the Republic who received me first, and this created a certain momentum which the other leaders could no longer escape. I cannot forget this; it was a stance of great courage on Dr. Mario Soares' part, but this does not mean that I am going to interfere in Portuguese domestic politics.

'Major' ANC Role in Backing MPLA Claimed

MB2405085391 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 1915 GMT 23 May 91

[Text] Jamba, Thursday, May 23 ... A former ANC [African National Congress] commander who had sought refuge with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has disclosed a deeper involvement of ANC fighters in fighting against UNITA forces in Angola than was known before.

Teddy Edward Williams, a 38-year Soviet and Cuban trained black South African who served as chief military engineering instructor for the ANC's military wing in Angola said in an interview before his repatriation back to South Africa last weekend that ANC fighters in Angola had played a major role in fighting UNITA alongside MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] forces, especially in the northern Malange Province where Umkhonto we Sizwe had its headquarter. The ANC's task in the area was to secure land routes on behalf of the Luanda authorities such as the Ucuva, Kakulama and Kakusso routes.

Williams said he fell out with the ANC following two major revolts staged by ANC fighters in Angola in the early 1980's. The revolts were sparked off by discontent among many ANC fighters over what they felt was their increasingly active role in the Angolan war on behalf of the MPLA and at the expense of their own struggle. The mutineers were detained and subjected to daily torture at various security prisons in Angola.

Williams noted that besides taking part in military attacks against UNITA, ANC fighters had often practised atrocities against Angolan civilians accused of being UNITA supporters.

He recalled that during one incident in 1983, a group of ANC soldiers raided a village situated near Fazenda Holanda in Malange Province and rounded up all the villagers. A man accused of being a UNITA soldier was

made to lie face down and burning plastic dripped on his bare back. The man was also forced to step on burning embers in a bid by the ANC men to make him talk before being finally executed.

A 38-year-old man and two male teenagers who had been wounded while trying to escape were buried alive in a shallow [as received] during the operation, he added.

He said he and other ANC fighters who had taken part in the two uprisings were detained under very deplorable conditions at the ANC's maximum security prison at Quibaxe and various other Angolan jails, including the notorious Catete prison in the Angolan capital.

Although he and his colleagues tirelessly sought help from the United Nations office in Luanda to request their repatriation back to South Africa, these were constantly turned down. Many of them ended up either being killed or redetained by the ANC while Williams himself escaped numerous attempts to his life. It was then that he decided to turn to UNITA for assistance.

Referring to the Luanda regime, Williams said it was clear to him during his stay that the MPLA was "black-mailing" Angolans, noting that official corruption had reached such proportions that it has now become a way of life for MPLA party and government officials.

Stealing has been opened up as a free race whereby Angolans under the MPLA can steal freely. The one who can steal better and more is the champion and becomes rich and respected", he observed. [no opening quotation marks as received]

A visibly moved Williams expressed deep gratitude to UNITA and its president, Dr Jonas Savimbi, for the humanitarian gesture in saving his life even though at one time he has taken part in attacks against UNITA. He wished UNITA and Dr Savimbi great success in the coming elections.

He pointed out that many South African mothers want their children back home and accused the ANC of keeping them hostages.

*** Finance Minister Discusses 'Economic Realism'**

91AF1000A Lishon O JORNAL in Portuguese

12 Apr 91 p 9

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Aguinaldo Jaime by Isabel Risques; place and date not given: "Privatization Will Begin in May and Devaluations Will Be Repeated"]

[Text] Aguinaldo Jaime talks about Luanda's new economic realism. The prospects are not encouraging: finances totally out of control, practically no production at all, technicians trained in the East who are not good for anything, terrible management practices, devaluation of the currency, and ever greater difficulties for the people.

[O JORNAL] What are the effects of the devaluation of the kwanza?

[Jaime] It is perhaps still too early to answer that question, because this measure was taken just a little over two weeks ago. The immediate effect, of course, was a rise in prices on the official market. Some agents immediately made the devaluation show up in their costs and that has caused a rise in prices.

On the black market, the reaction has been a bit more confused, due to unfamiliarity with the details. There has also been an across-the-board rise in prices, because people do not understand very well just what a devaluation is.

At the level of the people, precisely because there is no consciousness of the sense and the scope of the measure, a certain apprehension is manifesting itself. As for the international community, I think that the reaction has been positive. It has been said that for the first time the government was finally moving from intentions to action, with the goal of turning its program of economic reforms into reality.

[O JORNAL] When is another devaluation expected?

[Jaime] In the past, we have committed the mistake of announcing these measures in advance, before they took effect, and for that reason we are not going to do that again. In the future, we will announce the measure at the same time that it goes into effect. I can only say in advance that a devaluation of 100 percent is not enough. We all know that the imbalances in the Angolan economy are so great that a devaluation of 100 percent leaves us still very far from the point of stability of our currency, which lies somewhere between the current official rate and the rate on the black market, where the dollar is being sold at more than 800 kwanzas.

[O JORNAL] What measures does the government propose to support the people, since currency exchange and devaluation have diminished purchasing power?

[Jaime] We have begun a liberalization process of small savings. With regard to the amounts that were being frozen in the banks, we have proceeded to refund sums of up to 100,000 new kwanzas. We have unfrozen those deposits that had been forcibly transformed into time deposits and only for significant sums are we going to issue so-called public debt bonds. This is a process that is continuing. There was no intention of penalizing individual citizens, but it was not possible to announce in advance up to what amount people would be able to exchange freely, because very wealthy people would distribute the sums that they had through intermediaries with the goal of holding on to huge sums of money. I admit, however, that this measure has created serious difficulties for those people who live from paycheck to paycheck, but due to the reasons that I have just cited, there was no other solution.

[O JORNAL] What is the current status of the situation with regard to the process of transferring ownership of public companies?

[Jaime] Up until now, that process has been in a preparatory phase of the institutional framework, because we understand that it should be formulated with some care. We do not want to make families rich, nor do we want this process not to be understandable. For this reason, we prefer to waste some time, but to create an institutional framework such that all the people can grasp what the criteria for transfer of ownership will be, to whom ownership of these companies will be transferred, and by what methods.

It has taken some time for the framework to be approved because, unfortunately, due to the scarcity of specialists in our country, government officials have to be technicians and administrators simultaneously. And there are not enough of us for so many tasks. Hence we have wasted some time. But, at this moment, I can tell you that the framework is finally finished and I am going to formally launch the beginning of this program of privatization of the economy at the beginning of the upcoming month of May.

[O JORNAL] At the last meeting of the Council of Ministers in Luanda, there was disagreement between the plan and the budget, which led to the latter being shot down at that meeting. What were the points of disagreement?

[Jaime] There was not really a disagreement. The problem lies in the fact that, for the first time in Angola, we are trying out a process to make the three instruments of economic management—the National Plan, the General State Budget, and the currency exchange budget—compatible with each other.

In the past, and this explains to a certain extent the great difficulties in the country's macroeconomic situation, these instruments were hammered out autonomously and they were not always compatible with each other. Hence the fact that there were contradictions among them.

Now, the National Plan, within the goals that it has established for this year, estimated that the deficit in the OGE [General State Budget] should not exceed at the maximum 15 percent of the gross domestic product [GDP] at market prices. This is appropriate. It is a goal to which we do not object, because our deficit is extremely high. It represents 30 percent of the GDP and it did not offer any hope whatsoever of growth for the Angolan economy.

However, we have found ourselves facing great difficulties in trying to achieve this objective for a very simple reason: We have in our budget an almost asphyxiating component, which is the salary component. It represents approximately 45 percent of our total expenses. Now, to try to lower the deficits to the limits established by the National Plan could lead to the Ministry of Finance

having to make cuts, including in the salary component, with all the costs resulting from it.

We are in a very complicated phase, as you know, and the dismissal of public employees was not imagined, it was still a peaceful discussion. We purposefully resolved to raise this discussion at the level of the Council of Ministers, but we did not want to be the ones who, because of our initiative, would assume the responsibility of moving forward with a group of measures that are going to hurt, and we proposed that it should be the government in its entirety that should assume that responsibility. It has been assumed and we are now moving forward.

[O JORNAL] And what are those measures?

[Jaime] The measures translate chiefly into a drastic reduction in current expenses and in the fact that the OGE will no longer be subsidizing the economy. The OGE is going to subsidize just four or five basic products. As for the rest, the price is going to be established by market rules. The budget is absolutely going to stop subsidizing losses, or in other words, companies that do not succeed in covering the costs of doing business with their own revenues will purely and simply have to close their doors. This is going to lead us to an extremely complicated situation, because, up to now, those companies were entirely subsidized by the OGE and we think that some instability in Angolan society will result from this situation in the coming days.

[O JORNAL] It is said that there are 70,000 excess workers in the public sector. Will the announced drastic cuts in current expenses mean that they are going to be dismissed?

[Jaime] At this moment, in addition to the restructuring of the State-owned entrepreneurial sector that, as you know, is aiming to transfer ownership of the majority of the companies that are currently State property, we also have a process of restructuring of the administrative sector.

Our state apparatus does, in fact, have 70,000 excess workers. This is asphyxiating. On the other hand, it is by and large an unskilled work force, completely inefficient and bureaucratized.

[O JORNAL] What are the causes for the jump in this year's deficit compared with last year?

[Jaime] Primarily the war situation and the economic effort that has been made to face up to the damage that has resulted from it. The constant sabotaging of water and electricity has extremely high direct and indirect costs. It is not only the costs of repairing the lines, but also the companies whose operations grind to a halt, thus worsening their own operating deficits.

[O JORNAL] What is the budget deficit forecast for this year?

[Jaime] The devaluation is going to have a positive effect on the budget. With the devaluations that we are going to put into effect, we will succeed in lowering the budget deficit still further, in such a way as to respect the limits established by the plan. Perhaps we will manage to lower the deficit to 40 billion new kwanzas.

[O JORNAL] That is a high amount, taking into account the reduction in expenses and the prospects for a cease-fire soon....

[Jaime] Within this total effort to contain expenses, the armed forces have not been left out. Cuts in defense were on the order of 50 percent. But not only that. All the state administrative organizations have suffered similar cuts. If even so the deficit is still running so high, the reason is simple: Unfortunately, we can say that only now are we going to have a Ministry of Finance in Angola playing its role as controller of public finances.

In 1976, we began a process of decentralization in the administration of the budget that had very harmful effects. From there, the Ministry lost control of the situation. Organizations went on not to respect the limits that were established in the budget, we entered an almost systematic process of asking for increases in budget line items, and the public debt went skyrocketing upward, whether you are talking about the publicly acknowledged debt or the hidden debt, so much so that in this budget we expressly spell out the fact that companies, even the state-owned ones, are not obligated to satisfy the requisitions from budgeted units if they do not have proof that those expenses are provided for in the budget. This is to prevent uncontrolled growth of the public debt, a process that occurred last year.

But it is only now that the Ministry of Finance is getting itself organized, only now has the Public Treasury been created, only now will we be in a position to monitor the expenditures of each of the budgeted units.

[O JORNAL] With regard to foreign firms, some measures have also been taken by your ministry, in such a way as to provide for the monitoring of companies that market goods and services in foreign currencies. Can you be more specific?

[Jaime] In fact, an order has gone out giving a specific amount of time to all foreign companies that were marketing goods and services in foreign currency to sign up at the National Bank of Angola. This was also a process that had grown out of control because, in the past, without the knowledge of the currency exchange authority, that is, the minister of finance, other organizations were authorizing the formation of companies that were marketing goods and services in foreign currencies. This is extremely unpopular, our economy was increasingly getting out of control, and we are trying to put some order into the process. I can tell you that when I was named to be minister of finance, I inherited a situation of almost total financial mismanagement. Trying to put this building back on its feet is not easy, but we are on the right path.

[O JORNAL] Is some program to train specialized technicians under way? How does the government plan to overcome this shortage?

[Jaime] This is a problem of all underdeveloped countries. We think that with this opening up that the country is going to experience and with the return of some Angolans who are currently residing abroad, we will be able to increase the number of people who are qualified to help get the country's economy moving again. Obviously, this is in addition to training programs that already exist.

What has happened is that the policy followed by Angola in the past gave priority to sending students to be trained in socialist countries, and these are countries that are now undergoing change also, and the economic model that those students learned is not the one that interests us now.

[O JORNAL] How do you explain the fact that the government gives half of the budget to Luanda when the capital has just one-fifth of Angola's population?

[Jaime] The reason for this apparent disparity, which was, by the way, the cause of a heated discussion in the People's Assembly, is just this: This is the plan that was established by the Ministry of Commerce and that started with the principle that the other provinces, due to their agricultural potential, could supplement their share of this distribution that was being made through local production. But this is not the case of Luanda, which has almost no agricultural activity.

[O JORNAL] Now that the process toward a multiparty system has been initiated in Angola and talks toward peace are continuing, with the probable signing shortly of a cease-fire, with what degree of confidence do you look forward to this new situation?

[Jaime] I think that, if there is responsibility on the part of all political forces, it will be a positive process. If economic competition brings wealth, political competition will also bring efficiency and transparency to the new Angolan reality. All the political forces will benefit from that. We will gain stability and then we will finally have an end to the war, which is for me the greatest cause of the country's economic strangulation, and we will have the conditions that will allow us to live a little bit better.

This process also has risks, obviously. Communiques from certain political forces to the news media cause me apprehension. These are communiques that seek to exacerbate old contradictions, whether they be of a racial, regional, or other character, and that will be a danger for the democratic process.

On the other hand, Angolan society has been accumulating many hatreds all this time and these are not limited just to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], but affect all of

Angolan society for one reason or another. In the past, we have had traumatic experiences, and it will be necessary for the most conscientious people in our society to make a very great effort so that, out of the ashes of hatred, we can build a city of harmony and serene and peaceful competition.

*** Illegal Housing Increasing Around Luanda**

91AF1000B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 10 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by Manuel Muanza: "Nine Thousand Requests for the Luanda Area"]

[Text] In spite of the fact that people have been building houses in the neighborhoods of Rocha Pinto in the municipality of Samba, and Petrangol in Sambizanga, the above-mentioned localities are not suited to serve as residential centers.

The Rocha Pinto neighborhood, which lies adjacent to the runways of the February 4th domestic airport and the air base, and which is covered by a layer of earth that is quite vulnerable to erosion, is classified as a sound buffer zone which should be included in a "greenbelt."

The Petrangol neighborhood, in turn, represents a state reserve for industry, which is now sprinkled with some solidly built houses and hundreds of unsafe shacks.

Architect Antonio Calado, a member of the Department of Urban Planning of the Provincial Government of Luanda (CPL), considers the rural exodus and the lack of a land law to be the reasons behind the existence of illegal construction and the growth of the new neighborhoods. He maintained that such a land law would make it possible for the state to designate the areas set aside for housing, protect those areas from other types of development, and regulate the necessary requirements that citizens have to fulfill if they want to acquire large pieces of land.

These shortcomings are combined with the shortage of cadres, both in quality and quantity, capable of insuring the process of planning the city's growth, assigning parcels of land to the citizens, and drawing blueprints and plans for works in progress.

The ledgers of the provincial government of Luanda point to nearly 9,000 requests from individuals who are eager to build houses in the center of the city and in the peripheral urbanized areas. This figure contrasts especially with the available space, for which reason the CPL finds itself between a rock and a hard place, because no one wants to build a beautiful and luxurious dwelling among the alleyways of the slum.

All the petitioners are wondering why the documents which they have sent to the provincial government are taking more than two years to be processed. Architect Calado answers that the analysis of a dossier goes through a vast desert. For Calado, this implies a title

search on the property in question, a preliminary survey, on-the-spot contact, comparison with existing maps, approval of the proposal, and legalization.

However, several cases are known in which the person making the request wants authorization to build a dwelling on a strip of land where the urban-planning guide calls for the construction of a three-story building. The financial inability to get the project off the drawing board forces the CPL to direct the needy person to seek another alternative, that is, to look for another piece of property.

For all of this, the CPL is not prepared in the matter of cadres and material resources. And the long wait frustrates the men who always end up, as a rule and with a certain amount of reason, excavating the foundations and putting up the walls.

The specialist felt that the Master Plan for the Province of Luanda, which was recently approved, will guide the distribution of pieces of property. Currently, it is anticipated that supervised build-it-yourself housing projects will be built. The authorities calculate that there are approximately 56,000 lots prepared for the construction of low-cost houses in the so-called VIANA 3 area, others in the Golf neighborhood (Kilamba Kiaxi), and Cac-uaco, which are designated as "new development areas."

The provincial government's plans likewise give priority to putting the slums back in order.

*** Aspects of Daily Life in Luanda Explored**

*** Black Market Vendor**

91AF1001A Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE in Portuguese
12 Apr 91 pp 11-16

[Article by Jorge Araujo: "The Tumultuous Capital"]

[Text] If Anibal da Cruz Canhoto were God and our Lord put all the people in the street and then brought them to a public trial. This version of the requiem of Angolan government enterprises concocted by Anibal caused shivers to go up the spine of Kilunda, his colleague from the course in Dialectic Materialism in Cuba. But there was also talk of Alfredo and his cigarettes and of the dreams of Joana, that turn into nightmares. These are stories of Luanda, of its "makas" and "mambos," synonymous with tumult and problems.

I went to Mutamba. I had been told that it was the main square of that area. That there you could see white doves challenging the buses for the streets. I was curious to see how the symbol for peace survived in the capital of a country at war. In the end, I saw ships. Some people told me that the only animals that could be found around there were men. Others said that: "The doves ended up on the spit a long time ago." I had my doubts.

I did not see doves but I saw people. Many, many people. They were waiting for the buses that were no longer

running or the "processo quinhento" ["the 500 operation"]—Luanda's taxis—all rusted out and bursting at the seams. I wandered among tired bodies that were already dreaming of their beds or a beer. I saw eyes meet, I heard words come tumbling out, and I felt bodies rub together. Luanda is like that. People live an easygoing, good life there. It is the mistress of time and the lady of the spirits.

In essence, Mutamba is the mirror of Luanda. Poor, dirty, and dilapidated. But beautiful. Terrible and mysteriously beautiful. Magical. It is there. Imposing and proud. It opens its arms to us, it welcomes us, and lets us succumb to its charm. We are intoxicated by its aromas, hypnotized by its colors, and a prisoner of its music. Afterwards comes the hangover. A state of profound lethargy typical of adventures with no return. In a word: we are bewitched.

But in Mutamba there are not just doves, that I did not see, or people forever shifting between the center of town and their homes. For me Mutamba is above all Alfredo. It is that meeting that began with a tap on the back and the words: "A cigarette, comrade?"

The voice was that of a child who could not have been more than 12 years old. I turned around and saw some tattered trousers and a colorful shirt printed with the words: "This is my song." I soon realized that now the tune had changed. Alfredo, whose name I learned later on, was a kind of apprentice contrabandist. He had the bold look of someone who is familiar with his surroundings, and the innocent smile of someone who wants to be an adult before his time. Around his neck was a nylon cord holding a metal box, where I could see packs of AC and SG [expansions not given].

When he realized he was the center of attention, he pulled his cap down even further on his head and stuck out his chest, perhaps thinking that in this way he could add a few years to his identity card. The transaction could begin. As the good native that he was, the kid realized that he was dealing with a foreigner. He asked me to give him a "black bill" for a pack of AC. Since I had already done an accelerated course in old kwanzas, new kwanzas, and "dodos" (dollars), I understood right away the "maka" [confusion]. "A thousand kwanzas. Take it or leave it," I counterattacked. The boy was not disarmed. He took out a pack, which had become yellow from having passed through so many hands, and held it out to me. The deal was closed.

Once the deal was made, Alfredo opened up to me. He told me that he had run away from home because he was fed up with fried fish—and with only seeing coca cola in advertisements in the newspapers. He was tired of leading a life without jindungo [translation unknown]. He wanted to give wings to his dreams and to have the sky as a horizon. He did not want to be either a flower of the revolution or a captain of the waterfront. He wanted

most to be a flower of the waterfront, like those that do not die even when life becomes gray and the world grows old and white.

He wanted to be king. And not king for a day. He wanted to take flight, to touch the sky, and return like a savior of this country. To unfurl the banner of anti-fried-fishism and to drive beautiful cars. Like the one that belongs to his cousin Anibal, who one day decided to drop the course on Dialectic Materialism and devote himself to the contraband trade.

Alfredo told me about the night when his cousin appeared with his Formula 1 in the neighborhood. It was a red convertible, and it had a long antenna. Like the one on the security cars. There was a party. Not even after the victory of Cuito Cuanavale had they drunk so much. There were rivers of beer, oceans of caporoto [alcohol made in Luanda from batteries and other rather unorthodox materials]. A crowd of easy women surrounded the car. With his bell-bottomed trousers, the former representative of the glorious FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] looked like a movie star. And that day, Alfredo swore to himself that he would follow in his cousin's footsteps.

The young pioneer began with big dreams. First a shop at Roque Santeiro [one of the largest parallel markets in the Angolan capital]. The time to get the lay of the land, accumulate some money, and buy a car. Then he would put the car in the taxi business and charge money for it. He would open a branch in Trapalhoes, another in Sao Paulo, and finally one in every market in Luanda.

After building the foundations of his dream, it would then be time to make the big jump of his life. Direction: the Havana Stock Exchange. There, side by side with the Cuban Embassy in Luanda, where you breathe the sweet smell of foreign bills, he could finally get his hands on and buy the green paper that was most valued: the dollar.

This was the dream of this Luandan boy whose path one day crossed mine in Mutamba. A pioneer who knows that an imagination is like a Spanish inn and that for that very reason it is important to keep it alive. And to think, to think until you find the key that will open the doors of the slum and close the windows to misery.

But there is a step to take between dreams and reality. In this case, it is a marathon. You can never begin with nothing. Nothing is nothing. Another rule for success is that capital attracts capital. Alfredo began with the cigarettes. He invested his first kwanzas in the cancer vitamin, earnings to show the city, the thugs. Then the former colonists would be the godparents for his baptism of fire.

In the contraband business, all roads lead to Rome. What is needed is a good kick in the seat of the pants, to learn the ABC's of deals, and how to be a smooth talker and use your guile. Anibal had all of that and some deodorants. And that was how he began. A spray here

and another there, and he was following paths that led him to the petit bourgeoisie.

But there is a lot to learn about this deodorant business. Spraying is an art and a transaction is a vocation. You have to know how to reconcile the two things, to earn a reputation. You have to have a talent for deodorants. You have to be able to say no when a customer appears with only 500 kwanzas and wants his two armpits to smell of cologne. And you even have to end up convincing him that with deodorant on only one side, the machine will not jam and everything will be fine.

This job of being a contrabandist is not at all a bed of roses. Especially when your shop becomes a real pharmacy, with aspirins and pills that have expired. Alfredo does not like to talk about these drugs. The memory of aspirins brings him the weeping of desperate mothers crying: "This will make the poor little thing better." "A man is not made of steel," is what the contrabandist repeats tirelessly. But, the devil is not going to make them better, and then he gets back on track: "Business is business."

Therefore, strict rules must be defined between reason and sentiment: "Only trust a death certificate." According to the rules of a perfect dealer in contraband, if a man begins to give in to the whimpering women, he will end up on the streets of bitterness. Moreover, come what may, this kind of trade is always unstable. And the fatal blow can easily come from a woman who, after buying pills in Roque Santeiro, sees her belly begin to grow—and grow and grow....

Anibal still remembers the day when the wife of the boss appeared where he was working, and she was foaming at the mouth. She had been dancing the lambada, had been out all night, and ended up on the beach of the island. "All tired out," as her husband said with a smile in the corner of his mouth. But this is where the shoe pinches. Her period was late and the good woman finally discovered that her pills had expired three years earlier.

Blood, sweat, and tears. And if Anibal remembers the woman, he remembers even better another comrade, "the best son of our land." When this man saw his wife's belly begin to get big, he knew better than anyone that this was not the work of the Holy Spirit or the result of fried fish. So he exploded and went to see that justice was done with his own hands. He went to Roque Santeiro, his saber in his fist, saying that he would not stop until he saw blood. It is important to understand the man's problem: he already had a nest full of children and the situation "was more than precarious."

Suspense. "Use your head!" thought Anibal. He was not in fact even licensed. He had no training. He had always said that this thing about expiration dates was not to be taken too seriously. And he began to do some fast talking. If people were going to get started with these imperialist manias, he would shut down the store. That the fault was that of the dockworkers, who abandoned the merchandise at Luanda port. That his motto had

always been "trust the virgin and do not run around...." That he had his party card and was up to date with his payments. That he was a hero of the Cuito Cuanavale. And, as always happened on occasions of this sort, he finished by reciting phrases from Agostinho Neto and extracts from "Das Capital." In the end his course in Dialectic Materialism was of some use to him.

What is certain is that, after a lot of talking, he finally managed to convince the fellow. He used up seas of saliva. However, before bringing grist to his mill, he had to use two weighty arguments. First he played with the man's ego: He increased the enraged husband's rank, and instead of referring to him as "comrade boss" he referred to him as "comrade director." And to conclude, he used the tool of compassion: a couple of packs of SG Gigante and a few beers.

Like in a romance with a happy ending, all ended well, smoking the peace pipe, as the expression goes. "Where eight can eat, so can nine," were the last words of the fellow. To Anibal's delight, who meanwhile had been thinking to himself all along that was really disgraceful.

The story of the pills was the last straw. And Anibal swore by every saint imaginable that he would change jobs. Two beers for inspiration, a pause, and a final solution: barley juice cures all ills. It has no expiration dates, it does not kill like caporoto, and, in his opinion, "it is good for the stomach." So from that day on the contrabandist only sold liquids. Twenty-year-old Chivas, bottles of a good Portuguese wine, and beer. Lots and lots of beer.

Without realizing it, he had finally struck pay dirt. And what pay dirt, it was ridiculous! Gold, diamonds, this world and the one beyond as well. He had finally found the key to the petit bourgeoisie, two red convertibles and the easiest way to get broads. Paradise, in short.

But between beers and paradise there is TAAG [Angolan Airlines]. And this is where the scheme gains its titles of nobility. To make everything perfectly clear, Anibal explained it all in detail. Everything began with a "grade" [grating] of beer. Then, there came his trade for a round-trip, first class air fare to Rio de Janeiro. "A ticket for a year," he explained, before concluding the local phase of the scheme.

Up to that point everything was running smoothly. Anibal was playing on his home field and he knew the strength, or better said the weaknesses, of the other person. But the scheme did not end there. Fate has it that the imagination has no boundaries, and the mafia operates in the land of the samba. So once he had arrived there, he exchanged his ticket for another 45-day, tourist-class ticket. After settling accounts, he had a great deal of money to spend and to make deals with. And the goods he acquired would then be sold in Luanda's markets, where it is sold with the dollar's weight.

But, unfortunately, all good things must come to an end. Or better said, almost all. If the scheme of the "grades"

of beer for airline tickets has already become history, the same cannot be said for other "qualitative flights" with TAAG. The problem is that now he must open his purse strings. "Loosen your belts and listen carefully, the show is going to start," the contraband dealer always says before recounting his most recent adventures with the Angolan airline.

This time the destination chosen was different. The city of Porto, for instance. But the comfort was the same, since the trip was still in first class. Only now it was paid for in Portuguese escudos, 26 contos, to be more exact, and the promise to buy a list of spare automobile parts for the comrade who looked the other way.

The last time that Anibal travelled he did not want to believe his ears. At the same time as his ticket, the "well-placed" TAAG official demanded a veritable factory of parts for his BMW 320: two condensers, two blinkers, brake shoes and belts, intake and exhaust valves, joints, rings, casing, pistons, and an electric carburetor "gigler" (solex duplo). "The only thing he did not ask me for was a driver's license and a new body for the car," the contrabandist recounted, as he left the place. And he added bitterly: "Then they still tell us that we are the ones who are the enemies of the revolution."

After so many schemes, Anibal already felt like an economist. And for that very reason, he felt that he was entitled, rightly or wrongly, to give his opinion on the kwanza exchange or the government's exchange policy. He did it with contempt for books on economics and respect for the laws of smuggling. "Roque Santeiro is the best university in the country," he would say, not without a glimmer of pride in his eyes.

His debates on the SEF [Economic and Financial Reorganization] and a market economy were something to be heard. And his adversary in these friendly chats was almost always Kilunda, his companion from the days of dialectic materialism, who preferred the label of comrade-boss as he was also a smuggler. A kind of maximum boss of minimum personnel.

One word would lead to another, and the conversation would go on into the night. And with everything in Luanda, everything was irrigated with many beers. But, aside from the beer, they seldom agreed on anything. Kilunda, who only wanted a relationship between the forces of production, criticized counter-revolutionary speculation. Anibal, with his long experience on the parallel market behind him, would tear apart his arguments and hit where it hurt. And he would criticize and criticize and would only stop after he had finally called every minister an "incompetent." "They are a bunch of scoundrels," he would say without blinking. "They want more and bigger cars, parties, and a life of ease. They empty our pockets to fill up their own," he would conclude.

After the theoretical debate would come the therapy to be applied. Anibal would then pull out his handkerchief, wipe off the sea of sweat that was running down his

forehead, and take on the air of a doctor. The professor was going to speak. His solution was radical. First, he would say, put all the ministers out in the street. "They are all a bunch of incompetent thieves," he would proclaim. Then he would do away with the kwanza, both old and new, and he would make beer the new national currency. "It is just a matter of making reality official," he would preach, before going into a lengthy dissertation on the fate he had in store for the public enterprises (EP's) in the case of "God and Our Lord."

Kilunda, who already knew his theories by heart, would shift in his chair to meet the attack. His response would spill forth. According to the 10 commandments of Master Anibal, TAAG, the Panga-Panga, and the like would be purely and simply swept off the map. "They are a hotbed of turmoil and favoritism." But his plans did not stop there. The next stage was even more Machiavellian.

Anibal, who loved good prose, always began his discourse with the phrase: "Once upon a time there was a fine day." Then he would go on: "Plenipotentiary Minister Anibal da Cruz Canhoto entered the scene of the crime and grabbed the machine gun." And he would talk and talk, only to end by saying that he would put all the people in the street and he would order them to make a line in front of the building. This would then be the moment of popular judgment, with Anibal pointing his finger to indicate the few chosen ones, "a few more than the fingers of one hand" as he would say, who were worthy to work with him.

This version "written by Anibal" of the requiem of the EP's made chills run down Kilunda's spine. But he would never argue this point, because he knew that the debate would always end up on what his friend regarded as the "capital sin of the Angolan government": being too lazy. And on the great virtue of the parallel market—being an early riser. Having said this, he would draw his conclusions. When the first was ready to get out of bed, the second had already set the rules of the game...and "let God's will be done." A word to the wise....

Kilunda took pen in hand. He had the solemn air of great moments. On his back the weight of the party activists and the working masses. But he was not even trembling like an aspen. He was getting ready to denounce all the turmoil and problems of his enterprise. "No, I am not a fool," he would say, as if he wanted to rule out that idea. The opposite, before. He was just a "conscientious activist," to whom his colleagues entrusted the delicate task of uncovering everyone who deviated from the paths of revolution and allowed themselves to become bourgeois.

"Comrade Director General" was the first word that he wrote. But he thought twice and erased it, because if "the report were to fall into the hands of this guy, it would end up in the trash can." That is why he corrected it to read: "To the comrade-leaders of (...)." And he went on.

1) Ideological matters for the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party]. Comrade Roberto de Almeida, in his capacity as the party purist and one of the most honorable and honest leaders of the MPLA-PT.

2) Central Control and Reform of the MPLA-PT, in his capacity as party inspector during this time of promoting democracy and pluralism.

3) Secretary of the MPLA-PT's Central Committee for productive, economic, and social affairs, in his capacity as the economic strategist of the People's Republic of Angola (RPA).

4) The Executive Committee of the MPLA-PT of Luanda Province.

Having said this, Kilunda would add one more "comrades" before finally getting down to serious things. The text would go like this:

"We, the activists of the party of this great enterprise, have decided to write to the party in view of the fact that our letters sent individually have not received a reply.

First of all, we would like to apologize that this letter is not going to be duly signed, since militant courage today is of no use in the party, and militants who denounce leaders are punished without being defended by the party. During the time of the fondly remembered Dr. Agostinho Neto, the party governed, but today the party is full of bourgeois and opportunist infiltrators who do not care about the grass-roots' activists.

But when the first battle for national liberation began, we who today are called semi-illiterates, we were the ones who took up our arms and supported the MPLA. Today our opinions are ignored because the party only listens to one class, the middle class, that is a minority in our country which consists primarily of peasants and workers (...)."

After his introduction, he would go "directly to the heart of the matter, asking the following":

"(...) Why do the party and the government protect the corrupt and reactionary bandits and the agents of PIDE [International and State Defense Police] and the CIA, who include the following: Comrade Norberto de Castro, who uses a Nissan Jeep of the enterprise and uses and abuses his rations card at the "jumbo;" Comrade Teodoro Ramos, who has embezzled cattle, food, and money for his friends and family; Comrade Baltazar Gomes, an acknowledged Jehovah's witness, who has sabotaged many vehicles; Comrade Dioniso Carmona, who has many houses and properties abroad and has corrupted many of our ministers (...).". Two years later, Kilunda gave a melancholic and powerless glance at the list of charges. It was in the bottom of the drawer. In his house like in the home of the comrade-leaders. The work had been futile, since the scheming continued. And he

would have to content himself with moamba [typical Angolan dish] and fried fish, while those shameless members of the petit bourgeoisie continued to get fat on the tender imported meat that they bought at French shops. Like the Cuban shop that, in an ironic twist of fate, would only accept dollars and one credit card: American Express.

It was not right," thought Kilunda, while he tore up the signed petition. The Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship is either for everybody or for nobody. He was already tired of loosening his belt while others still used suspenders. For the first time he asked himself: What was that course in Dialectic Materialism really for? Especially now with all the talk about democracy and a market economy.

The advertisement in the JORNAL DE ANGOLA read more or less as follows: "A young woman 35 years of age, refined and educated, is seeking a diplomat who respects human rights and is not a polygamist." The advertisement fell like a bomb in Luanda. "There are people going around preaching equality between the sexes," some people would say. "And calling the women from the other half of the sky," others would reply.

As a good Angolan, a Luandan is above all a good "machisto." He is the one who determines the rules of the game. Broads are synonymous with a pot of moamba, an island beach, or a belly to swell up. They are frequently simple objects of pleasure. Especially now, when these 15 years of war have reduced the male population and made the ratio of women to men five to one. "The war, in the end, also has its good side," the orthodox Kilunda would say without blinking.

So on the masculine side of Luanda are the men who lay around while they are pondering schemes for survival. They are "machos" who do not know the bitter taste of worms but who protest when a platter of fried fish appears, also known as "the belt of FAPLA." They slip down a few beers that scald the throat while they think about the next girl they are going to sleep with.

On the female side, Luanda has the face of anguish. The anguish of women who do not have a magic wand that can convert the plates of fried fish into marvelous cutlets. There are interminable lines in front of the People's stores that are nearly always empty. Or even at the shops in Roque Santeiro, the "beggars" market, and others, where they desperately try to palm off olive oil, some packs of cigarettes, or just a piece of barbecued meat.

This is Luanda in black and white. A good mother for some and a stepmother for others. As a backdrop, acacias or fig trees from India. And the bay, calm and fantastically beautiful. Like the women of Luanda. They are there, available and fragile. It is enough to embark on

an adventure and let yourself become inebriated by their charm. Luanda is a mirage. An eternal and marvelous mirage. Like its women.

"Surrender" I go forward only nothing matters to me
 Nor do I feel life the sky, a traitor...that hides from me have I lived?
 ...or was it so empty!
 I wanted to cry to take this pain away in tears tears
 Not even tears...I wanted to die let my heart die, nothing! I am giving up
 My voice is cynical I get up I surrender.

Joana Ferrao

This poem is ageless. But it was written by a 12-year girl. A girl who had lost her innocence a long time ago. Who lived by cultivating dreams and reaping nightmares. Like Luanda.

The girls have stopped playing their games. They were too unreal for a place like Luanda. Now they prefer to write poems. To talk about death, about lost illusions and the tomorrows that are not worth living. They paint a world with somber colors. But they forget that in their broken hearts there are still enough colors for another Renoir painting.

I went to her grandfather's, public relations at the hotel where we were staying, and he showed me her poems. He was worried. He said that the girl had strange ideas for her age. That they were going to take her to a psychologist. I read the poems and I saw the sad, martyred, downcast Luanda. And I understood that, like dreams, nightmares are also ageless.

Luanda is not just parties, magic, or schemes. It is also melancholy. A porcelain doll who has already seen many elephants go by. Like Joana. But despite this, it is there, fragile, open, innocent. Strangely indifferent to blackouts, to the din of the MIG's crossing the sound barrier, and to the spectacle of attacks.

Then I understood everything. Joana is nothing more than a sleeping beauty. Like so many other children polluting the streets of Luanda. Luanda is also a sleeping beauty. With its dreams and nightmares. A sleeping beauty that is waiting for its Prince Charming. Just like Joana.

* After Dark

91AF1001B Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE in Portuguese
 12 Apr 91 pp 18-19

[Text] A beer is popped open. Night in Luanda always begins like that. Then another one is downed and another until the table looks like a cemetery of cans. Between the first and the last one is the night. That in Luanda is always a child. Between one and the other there are various "grates" of beer. A long time ago the

expression "we are going to have a beer" was changed to: "We are going to sweep a grate."

In between there are Paralelo 2000 and Pandemonio. There is the merengue, the zouk, mulatto women, and the sleep that never comes. And everything ends up on the island. By that stage of the game, you are dying of hunger. And you attack the barbecue restaurants, that are lined up Indian-file along the only road that crosses the island. As I had already been told about a container with rotten chicken that had been buried by the health authorities, and had then mysteriously disappeared with no traces, I always resisted the temptation.

One never knew whether the leg that Jorge Pena, a reporter from Lisbon Radio TSF [wireless], was eating with so much gusto was one of the survivors of the burial. But one thing was certain: after smelling the barbecues for so long, I became sick of them.

But let us begin at the beginning. With a few beers to warm up the motor, all the body wants is music. And music in Luanda is synonymous with the back yard, since the best and most popular discotheques are located behind normal housing units.

However, to be truthful, there are more refined and distinguished places. Such as the Panorama. But they are too snobbish and "soft" for lovers of strong emotions.

Paralelo and Pandemonio

Therefore, we end up with the Paralelo 2000 and the Pandemonio. In either one the ruckus begins as soon as you enter, with a horde of people wanting to take a turn in the depleted space. Fortunately for us, in the country of safe-conducts we had a magic password: the name of the press attache at the Angolan Embassy in Lisbon, our companion in our adventures. A simple "Comrade Simons" (that was his name) was enough to resolve everything. Doors, hearts, and bars opened as if by magic.

At the Pandemonio we always needed two "Comrade Simons" to arrive at the scene of action. Normal.... There were two check points. They were the obstacles to get by before disembarking in the universe of madness. Inside there were good music, fantastic girls, and a parade of the latest fashions. The Alcantara of Saturday nights, but more "in," more tropical, and with more turmoil. Much, much more turmoil. But a turmoil so sweet and magical that you would still ask for more. Always, endlessly more.

Watching the young people dance, an ordinary mortal would get complexes. He would feel lame, paralyzed, and anything else that has to do with motor defects. With them you never know where the music begins and the bodies end. The harmony is complete. And you may wonder whether the decibels also enter through their ears. When I saw the spectacle, my first thought was no. At the Pandemonio I thought that the music was injected

directly into their veins. Perhaps because of this, the adrenalin rolls up their sleeves and controls their bodies.

With a few beers to help, the lame and paralyzed finally began to try out their first dance steps. And at that point there were two options: to dance "independently," as was frequently my case, or to procure a partner. For those who chose this route, finding a partner should not in principle be anything too difficult. There were all kinds of girls. The problem is that a guy does not know the territory. Angolans have a strong sense of possession and hate foreigners to interfere with their personal property.

However, this feeling only applies to their wives. With girlfriends they are more direct. The plan of attack has various stages: first they locate their prey, then they undress them with their eyes. (And if a guy leaves his chains at home, he ends up seeing his companion in a snake dance on the dance floor). Then a great ruckus ensues. Nights in Luanda always begin and end in a great ruckus. It is part of the tradition.

The Noisemakers of Paralelo

Also part of tradition are the words: "Let us hurry over to Paralelo." Here there is less commotion than at the Pandemonio and the music is even better. There is more zouk, funana, and merengue. Another difference: while the Pandemonio is frequented especially by the lower middle classes of Luanda, at the second one you find some people from the working classes. And, because of this, the atmosphere is more intense in smells, colors, and animation.

Paralelo 2000 owes its name to a beer. When it first opened, a can of beer cost 2000 kwanzas on the parallel market. Now things have changed and you can drink the "precious liquid" for a thousand. But this is not the only change. As the Paralelo 2000 gained fame, its owner had no choice but to expand the facilities. And, since there was no longer room for even a fly there, he decided to conquer the backyard of a neighbor.

It was in that backyard that I made myself at home. There were tables and chairs for a warrior's rest. But peace too. And above all some games [matraquilhos] to entertain the people. I attended some memorable matches. The players were painted in the colors of Petro and 1 August, the two best soccer teams in Luanda. Joao Almeida, also from the TSF, would not leave them. He looked like a child who had finally found a toy that had been missing for a long time.

And I watched everything. The bodies stuck together in the yard next to us, the commotion in the matrecoos [translation unknown], and the endless discussions. I was hypnotized by the surrealistic atmosphere of the Paralelo. A discotheque that even had a pharmacy in one corner. It was the only one I saw in Luanda.

Lost in thought, I was brought back by a voice demanding my presence at the "Coqueiros," the game table. He wanted to play a match with me. I hesitated when I saw that it was the star of the company. But I

screwed up my courage and went over there. The game was like a story book. There was suspense and everything. And in the end, I can say that I did not come out badly. The result: 3-2 in favor of 1 August. It is clear that I was the one in command of Petro's team.

The Comrade From Bie

In Luanda the discotheques do not close. People start leaving. But before that the disc-jockey goes to his wit's end to convince people to leave. He repeats innumerable times that it is time to go home; however, the people ignore him. Only many hours after the first appeal can he finally go home exhausted. Because for us the night is still young. It has not even been born yet.

As we leave Paralelo 2000 the captain indicates the next port of call: the island. On the way we see Luanda lit up, as has not been the case for a long time. "For a long time the street lights were not lit," they tell me. The compulsory curfew has been lifted and everything is fine now. However, everybody is carrying the safe-conduct pass from the People's Assembly in their pockets, just in case. But above all we have our "Comrade Simons."

On the island we set up camp at the house of a man we begin calling the "comrade from Bie." He had everything to persuade us to avoid bed like the plague: cool beers, barbecue, and good conversation. And music. The only problem was that just after we arrived, he lifted the cover of the equipment and pushed the volume up to the maximum. It was impossible to tell whether it was funana or merengue. But nothing mattered. The vibrations from the floor told the bodies that they still had the strength to move. The party could continue.

There we continued to ward off sleep. With two parts conversation, two steps on the dance floor, and more, but much more, than two beers. In the street the traffic jam of cars continued. Luanda is inhabited by a rare species of bat. But, unlike the common bats, this species does not sleep during the day either.

With the first rays of sun we left the "comrade from Bie." However, our beds were still freshly painted. Desperately waiting for Godot. Now it was time for a dip in the warm waters of the island. With the city behind us and the ocean on the horizon. Nights in Luanda are like that. They begin with a beer and they end in the ocean. Farewell hangover. The new day could begin.

Carneiro of the 16th Km

Beto Carneiro. To go to Angola and not experience Beto Carneiro is like going to Rome and not seeing the Pope. It is not a monument, a minister, or a beach. It is a villa. A villa where they have great parties. Like the one we were invited to the night before the "Victory Carnival."

Ever since we had first arrived in Luanda people had not talked about anything else. "It was the best," some told us. "After you go to Beto Carneiro, you can die exhausted," others would say. These are words that

make your mouth water and make you count the days until these initiation rites take place.

To pass time there is nothing better than to go collecting information. And that was how I came to learn that the Beto was at kilometer 16. There next to Viana, along the road to the north. I also learned that it has girls, beer, good music, and the commotion of the Pandemonio. That it has Paim and Quental live. That it has barbecue from the island, but without the threat of the buried container. It has meat and proof of good ramalho eanes wine direct from four Portuguese wine cellars. And, because of all that, "we are sold on it." Farewell island, farewell Pandemonio. On Tuesday, we are going to be having fun at the Beto.

We are waiting for "D-Day." We are repeating the same activities. The anticipation has given us diarrhea. To calm our digestive system, we have increased our dose of beer. The problem is that one beer leads to another, we were having a good time and we lost track of our guide. The one who was supposed to take us to the "Promised Land." The result was that I was alone with my drinking companion, Ricardo Mota, from Radio Nova do Porto. Actually alone is not the right word, because at the door of the hotel our faithful jeep was waiting for us. Oh, if that jeep could talk....

It then occurred to me that the other members of the group had "betrayed" us. Ricardo was talking on a Machiavellian plane in terms that would keep us away from paradise. The truth is that only one question occupied our minds: How were we going to get to Beto Carneiro? As the Angolans say, "this is the problem that we are having."

This was a hard nut to crack. In addition to not knowing the way, neither of us had a license. Besides the four wheels, the only property we had was our safe-conduct passes. And the phrase: "We are in Luanda with Comrade Simons." Would that be enough?

Even so, we decided to take off on our adventure. On the way we met Jose Patricio, from the Office of the President of the Republic, who told us to head north. He was very tired, so he just gave us a few directions. "Beto is at kilometer 16, close to a mill," he began by telling us. "Then you turn right and follow a dirt road," he concluded.

And there we were. With our heart in our hands and determination in our soul. Our motto was "see the Beto and then die." At peace, as I had been told. We passed the Jumbo-Pao de Acucar heading towards Viana. Always with our eye on the mileage gauge. The problem was that the kilometers were going by and not a trace of the Beto Carneiro. Silence settled on us. And the dark night too.

"If we keep going like this we will end up in Cabinda," Ricardo then told me, as if to scare away the fear. We did not arrive at Cabinda, but at the 25th km, where a FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] soldier brought us to a halt. It was the first check point since Luanda. With his arm out straight and a

Kalashnikov in his fist, the glorious FAPLA soldier ordered us to stop. No sooner said than done. The negotiations could begin.

We were the ones who began talking. "We were looking for a party at Beto Carneiro," were our first words. The soldier listened attentively and told us that: "It has been a long time since the comrades passed heading for Beto." From his response we saw that there would be no turmoil. Then we gave him a cigarette. He took it. Then we offered him the whole pack. He did not say no. And he finished by showing us the way back. Before that there was time for us to say to him: "A hell of a day for a comrade to be working." He agreed.

We put the car in reverse. On the way back we met up with two or three drunkards who asked for cigarettes. The last one asked us for cigarettes and a ride. To Beto Carneiro. We opened the door but we were not sure whether that keg of beer would take us to our destination. What was certain was that the comrade had made it there. But, since he could not see one centimeter in front of his nose, I had the impression that he must have been guided by his smell.

I do not remember anything about what I saw at Beto Carneiro. The party was such that you lost your sense of reality. So I am not going to tell you about Candida Pinto tasting the wines, because I did not see it. Or about what happened to one member of the group, the victim of a marking by a girl, because this is not done. Or about Goulao showing that he was a master of merengue, because I already had a notion of this. Nor why Jose Alberto, from the "JN [expansion unknown]," preferred to stay at the hotel to send out his last telex to Lisbon, because there are reasons that only his "competitor at DN [DIARIO DE NOTICIAS]" knows. Or about Ana Margarida Matos, from TSF, who was enchanted with the countryside, because those fantasies are hers.

What I do remember well is how my night ended. It was with a Cuban truck and a bay. A breakfast after a sleepless night. And a crazy, crazy desire to return to Luanda. What I had just spent was only a night in mono (party-system). Just imagine what it would be like in stereo.

* Changes Since Independence

91AF1001C Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE in Portuguese
12 Apr 91 pp 21-23

[Text] I left Luanda a little after 25 April. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola], and MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] had already begun washing their dirty laundry as a family. The city, transfigured by suffering, was still beautiful. I swore that "I would return" but I was forced to leave as though I were a thief.

For that reason I did not take the house on my back. I had one case in front and the other behind. In my suitcases there was only room for pictures. Pictures of a city that I would learn to like and that I already considered as mine. Clear, strong, profound pictures. Pictures that would not get any more wrinkled as the years went

by. They would turn more yellow, that time does not spare. But also more beautiful, once the imagination took over and made them prettier. During all this time I dreamt. I dreamt of the bay. Calm and forever beautiful. Of the fortress, from where I saw the night playing hide-and-seek with the first rays of sun. And of Kinaxixi market, and its colors and happy commotion. And of Maria da Fonte, sword in hand, as if she wanted to conquer the sky.

I had been living there close to Kinaxixi. From my house I would see the Cuca building, with its lighted sign. And the other one, for the Banco Pinto & Sotto-Mayor. The swallows would alight in my window and would wake me up with their song. And I remembered my life like someone entering a dream.

If I were to return to Luanda now, the memories could be somewhat painful. The city is still there. At a standstill since the 1970's. Hypnotized, waiting for cosmetic surgery. It is there, dirty, poor, dilapidated. And to see it like that, you feel enraged at the Angolans. Nobody could imagine what that paradise would be if it had continued to grow.

Maria do Tanque

But Luanda was not just abandoned. It was abused. There is the story, told a thousand times, of the pigs on the seventh floor, of the caporoto [alcoholic drink made in Luanda with batteries and other unorthodox ingredients] factories in the beautiful homes, and of the parquet floors used as firewood. Families of 20 persons living in two-story houses. But more than that, there were the aberrations, like the case of Maria do Tanque.

It was there in Kinaxixi where, on returning, the first major shock occurred. Only the pedestal remained of the statue of Maria da Fonte. It was above the pedestal that the crime was committed. In place of the imposing lady, who was talked about so much during the wars of liberation, they had decided to put a tank. In the midst of so much sadness there is only one consolation left: the Luandans did not lose their sense of humor. Proof of this is that they eventually named that square Maria do Tanque [Maria of the Tank]. In honor of another Maria and in disrespect for a tank that, for them, is synonymous with so much suffering.

Maria do Tanque is so ugly that it hurts. And perhaps the reason why the FAPLA soldiers do not allow anyone to photograph it is so that their cameras will not be ruined. Or maybe out of shame.... What is certain is that it is with Maria da Fonte in your heart that you go down to the bay.

Before arriving there, we made a U-turn and headed for the People's Assembly. Along the way we saw the holes in the streets. Holes so large that, as a Luandan told me, a truck could fit in them. And we saw filth. Then we thought about what had become of Hellinguer and his Filipinos, who in principle should have been taking care of it. One had the impression that in Luanda's current

condition, more than a few Filipinos would be needed to clean it up. The entire population of Filipinos, along with Corazon Aquino and everything, would be required to do that.

Then we arrived at the People's Assembly. For those who left Luanda before the Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship, this was the former Cinema Restauracao. Farewell to Gianni Morandi, who broke so many hearts. Farewell to "Non Son' Degno di Te" and to "Quimera," that made so many tears flow. Now the area is infested with people. Especially on a day that parliament is in session. So get your safe-conduct pass ready, because you cannot take a step without it.

But if the metamorphosis of the "Cine-Restauracao" into the headquarters of parliament does not affect you so much, perhaps because the original design was preserved, the same cannot not be true of some of the buildings across the street. There the Cubans put people to work and converted them into prisons. Some sand banks and a great deal of vigilance were all they needed.

Tanks and More Tanks

The Angolan authorities seem to have a fixation on tanks. And the story is far from ending at Kinaxixi. The tragedy is that if one tank is an aberration, two are a crime. All you need to do is to go from there to the circle of Catete street to find nine. [Text missing] Revolution Square and in the center of town, there is a sad spectacle: two tanks that have hit each other.

When you see that you can even feel the pain of the tanks. Alone, in the middle of the circle, at the mercy of the general public's entertainment. What is more, perhaps to punish them, Luandans still call Revolution Square by its old name. Indifferent to my suffering, I heard a comrade call "that" a "monument." And give a dissertation on its meaning. That was how I learned that it was "a homage to victory over the South African racist enemy." The larger tank of course belonged to the "glorious FAPLA." And the smaller one to the South Africans. Could that be true?

Another monument that is a conversation piece in Luanda is the one called "Foguetao" ["Rocket"]. This is the Mausoleum to Dr. Agostinho Neto and it is located in the old Praia do Bispo neighborhood. To build it, houses and more houses had to be destroyed. Practically the entire neighborhood. It is said that rivers of money were spent on it. The project is still not finished, but I would not give a cent for that monument.

The Restored Buildings of Luanda

In the midst of so much deterioration, three buildings stand out. Among the best is the Bank of Angola, the true ex-libris of the Angolan capital. It was the jewel of the crown. Now it is the child of the eyes of the regime. It is there, beautiful, colonial, untouchable. In all its splendor. They say that the Portuguese builder in charge of restoring had problems taking the boat to harbor. But

it was worth it. To see it now at night, all lit up, it reminds one of the way it used to be.

Just to appreciate it you want to go down to the riverside. To appreciate it, but also to enjoy the sight of some sculptures that were recently placed there. Sculptures that give Luanda an "in" look and make it appear like a David Lynch scene.

Once by the river, your heart sinks. It is painful to see so much beauty ruined and abandoned. The paths are all destroyed, they would make the mouth of any man who lays cobblestones water. The lamp posts are there merely for show. It smells so bad that, if the beauty of the bay did not overcome the odors, nobody would dare to set foot there.

Once we are at the bay, we are ready to forgive everything. The smells, the rough paths, and the lamp posts that are falling down. The bay is a gift of nature. When he made it, the Creator was particularly inspired. As the people of Luanda say, it came out of a Geometry class: it was made with a ruler and a compass. And He did not forget to put the island in front of it, for the pleasure of the eyes and to the delight of the night crowd, who have chosen it as their resting place.

But let us leave the bay. It is time to go up the street where the Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company] building is located. Together with the Finance building in Mutamba, it was given a face-lift in recent years. In the midst of so much destruction that it practically hurts your eyes. But they made the neighbors jealous as, day after day, they saw their beauty being ruined by the hands of the destructive animal that goes by the name of man.

Buses, 'Operations,' and Other Commotion

Luanda ended up with an abundance of buses and taxis. The former are always called "maximbombos," but now look like a species in the process of being destroyed. They are covered with dust, despite the sign that says: "The buses are yours, keep them clean." As for the taxis, that is another story. They were baptized the "500 operations," since no matter where you went—Alvalade, Bairro do Prenda, or Barra do Kwanza—you always paid the traditional five hundred kwanzas. Now, with the change in the currency, things have become complicated. And according to what a Luandan told me, nobody knows whether the "operations" are going to keep their name or receive a new designation.

But the problem with the taxis is that foreigners are always at a loss to identify them. That was my great problem in Luanda. I asked and asked until I finally received a reply: All you have to do is to put out your hand. While a taxi always stops—even when there are people packed inside like sardines—a normal car will go on its way.

But the commotion in Luanda does not have to do with the taxis. The greatest commotion is the traffic. It is not

recommended for heart patients. It is ideal for kamikazes. What you have to do is join the fray and put your fate in God's hands. For that reason, traffic accidents are our daily bread. Especially those involving military vehicles, which are omnipresent in Luanda and turn its streets into Formula 1 race courses.

Contributing to the chaotic traffic situation in Luanda is the virtually total absence of traffic signals. Stop signs, one way streets, and other regulations of that ilk went by the wayside a long time ago. Now the golden rule is one foot on the brakes and the other on the accelerator. It is the tropical Far West.

Mussulo, a Paradise

But there is one thing in Luanda that remains intact: Mussulo. And that is good, because it is one of the last lost paradises on this planet. Its golden sand, its majestic coconut palms, and its water that look more like a gin and tonic make it a dream world. You can forget about the trash in Luanda and recover your strength to face the deteriorated state of the Angolan capital. And get the breath of fresh air needed to survive the commotion and problems that pollute a little of everything. It is peace and tranquility. But also sudden meetings of the third degree, like the parable of the Lisbon Radio TSF [wireless] or a carnival group.

You go by boat to Mussulo. A kind of "cacilheiro" [translation unknown] that is so old that it urgently needs to be overhauled. For instance, I just looked at it and began thinking about shipwrecks and SOS's. Thus I was relieved to accept a ticket for one of the many launches that makes the run.

When we arrived in Mussulo it is as though we were arriving in paradise. Especially because we were going from the extremely dilapidated environment of Luanda. And we began thinking about what that island would be like when there is peace. We could imagine the Germans, Americans, and French converting this dream into another "Club Mediterranée." It was a frightening thought. And when once again we boarded the launch to go back to Luanda, we cast a glance behind us so as not to forget.

On terra firma once again, we bemoaned the Futungo de Belas, that has gone from a tourist area to the president's "bunker." And we left for Luanda where the clogged sewers were waiting for us. The Cuca building full of leaks is falling to pieces. The houses with grates on their doors and windows look like prisons. And tons of trash. In short, a Luanda that needs to be loved.

Botswana

*** First Soda Ash Produced by Sua Pan Plant**

91AF1051C Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English
4 Apr 91 p 4

[Text] (BOPA)—The first Soda Ash was produced on the new P [pula] 736 million Soda Ash Botswana factory at Sua Pan late Saturday, says a press release.

Commissioning of the plant began three months ago and after extensive safety and systems testing, product has now been successfully produced, the release adds.

It is expected that the factory will be brought up to full production capacity during April. The official opening of the factory is being planned for early June.

When fully on line, the factory will employ 550 people and has the capacity to produce 300,000 tons of soda ash and 650,000 tons of salt per year.

Soda Ash Botswana is a joint venture between the government of Botswana, which has 48 percent of the equity and AECL [African Explosive and Chemical Industries] Limited and its partners, Anglo American Corporation and De Beers Holdings, 52 percent.

In response to a BOPA questionnaire on the Francistown/Sua Pan railway line, Soda Ash Botswana indicates that the railway was through to Sua Pan on 14 December last year but that it was unlikely it would be officially opened with the factory.

The contractor has had to rebuild a gap in the incomplete embankment at 69 kilometres from Francistown which was washed out in the unprecedented rains last week. The contractor also had to contend with late rains in the Shashe River last year and again this year.

A total of 274 special wagons have been built and are being dispatched from China, 110 are in Botswana—80 for carrying early production and 30 to convey salt.

Mauritius

* Report on Mauritians Working, Living in RSA

91AF1022A Port Louis 5-PLUS in French
29 Mar 91-4 Apr 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Finlay Salesse; first paragraph is 5-PLUS introduction]

[Excerpts] According to a recent census, there are more than 40,000 Mauritians living in South Africa. The majority of the contingent emigrated during the 1950's to make their fortune in the sugar-producing El Dorado of the Natal region, followed by several successive waves. A sign of the times, there are Mauritians just about everywhere. They are, among other places, in businesses, textiles, hotel kitchens or reception desks, and at the university, while others sell "dholl-purees" [a local food] in downtown Durban. Father [Fr] Gerard de Fleuriot, head of the Pastoral Mission for southern Africa and a resident in Durban for more than 23 years, closely follows the Mauritian community. Some are manifestly conservative, while others do very well by change, and profit from it.

"Some Mauritians have remained very conservative, especially the first generation of immigrants. Others, those who arrived later, do very well by change," we are

told by Fr Gerard de Fleuriot, of an indeterminate age. This Mauritian priest, whose mother is living in South Africa, has experienced the worst moments of apartheid. [passage omitted]

"Even within the Mauritian community, I was considered a communist. One does not forget the old reflex: those who care for the poor, and especially blacks, are communists. I remember that Fr Dethise had that reputation when he lived in Mauritius," Fr Fleuriot tells us somewhat bitterly, with respect to the attitude of certain Mauritians in South Africa. Of course, this Mauritian priest was to have been expelled from South Africa in 1973. His sick mother's condition softened the authorities' intransigence somewhat, and he was able to remain in South Africa. Among the first generation, Creole is spoken less and less often because of the children. "Of course, there is a serious 'generation gap' problem. The third generation is totally integrated and often it is a bit ashamed of the grandparents who have an accent. That is life," says Gerard de Fleuriot, who adds "that there is no longer a Mauritian identity and that if it still existed, it would in any case be a superficial one."

It has been noted that those who work together frequently see each other, while those in other sectors do not even cross paths. Nevertheless, Mauritians come across each other often enough in the middle of downtown to try the "dholl-puree" at six rands for two, with the traditional curry condiment prepared by a well-known Mauritian "dholl-puree maker" also living in Durban. Thanks to the famous Mauritian talent for seizing opportunity, more than six "dholl-puree" sales locations have been established in the very heart of Durban. [passage omitted]

In addition, Raj Ramratchia, former head of the Bus Owners Syndicate, who experienced some difficulties at the beginning, is now well established in the textile business. He is also active in social services, helping ill Mauritians who come for operations in South Africa, and facilitating the admissions procedures for Mauritian students in the universities. The Durban press did not neglect to cover the small party he gave at his house on the 23d anniversary of independence. Mauritians will know from now on that Raj is always available when there is a problem, even more so since his South African wife is a lawyer. That helps.

In other sectors, hotels for example, Mauritians have made a solid reputation for themselves. First in the kitchen, where they excel in oriental cuisine. [passage omitted] And that is why at the reception desk of the JOHANNESBURG SUN visiting Mauritians are greeted in a very "Mauritian" manner by Kewal Persad, former resident of Triolet (with several years of service at the Trou-aux-Biches Hotel), where his mastery of French is of considerable advantage to that establishment, which is frequented by numerous French tourists.

Mozambique

Mocumbi on Dismantling Apartheid, Sanctions

*MB2105145891 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1110 GMT 21 May 91*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi by reporter Iain Christie in Maputo; date not given—recorded; from the "Outlook Africa" program]

[Text] [Christie] Are you confident that apartheid is indeed coming to an end?

[Mocumbi] Yes, I am confident. There are problems. Of course, in a process like that one, we cannot expect the mere process of change. There are ups and downs, but at the final end we will have apartheid dismantled. Commitment from the antiapartheid movement is already (?noticed). Now [words indistinct] to be tested with commitment from the [words indistinct] perceiving apartheid as their system to defend their own interests. Those forces have to be tested in practical terms.

[Christie] What conditions does the South African Government have to meet before Mozambique will publicly support the termination of (?foreign) sanctions?

[Mocumbi] Well, we will follow what the antiapartheid forces in South Africa determine. We will follow the line that the ANC [African National Congress] and other forces in South Africa will define because when we decided to support sanctions against South Africa it was responding to an appeal from the people of South Africa represented by its leadership. So, we have to follow the line that the leadership of the people of South Africa define. There are some partners who tried to prevent the Frontline States and those who have created problems with the issue of sanctions. [sentence as heard] This is the interpretation of our stance, at least, [words indistinct] the stand of Mozambique. Mozambique has already made known to the international community that it was not in a position to apply sanctions to South Africa because of its [words indistinct] peace, and also the historical links between Mozambique and South African economy. Applying sanctions to South Africa would represent suicide for Mozambique. So, [words indistinct] and to end, this is the stand of Mozambique's on the issue of sanctions.

[Christie] [Words indistinct] Frontline States [words indistinct] the confrontation in South Africa and earlier in Rhodesia as creating special relations of friendship between these various countries that have come to be known as the Frontline States. Are you confident that this special relationship can be maintained after the end of apartheid?

[Mocumbi] Yes, I think so. [Words indistinct] maintain the relations with Angola, Mozambique, and other countries that had been colonized by Portugal. After that, Portuguese colonialism came to an end. We, Mozambique and the other countries of this group of countries

known as the Frontline, we have a common border. We have developed a friendship. We developed solidarity, and in the process of the struggle and the battle that we waged together, we developed also common ways of approaching problems. And I think this is the very important factor that will maintain us together in the future when our region will be freed from apartheid where we will have to continue with efforts for development of each one of our countries, each one of our peoples, to develop a better life, and we will see how a new partner in this process, a new partner in terms of date—South Africa, free from apartheid—will react. I hope that the leadership in this country, after apartheid is gone, will understand the need to cooperate in the development in terms of complementarity, not in terms of [words indistinct].

[Christie] [Words indistinct] another regional association, the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference], will [words indistinct] a post-apartheid South Africa into becoming a member of the SADCC. These shared fears of some specialists that South African membership will inevitably mean South African domination of the organization.

[Mocumbi] Well, we will start by saying that I don't think that these specialists are right. They need to reassess the situation after apartheid is gone. They have to be [words indistinct] in South Africa itself. But our view is that the institutions of regional cooperation in Africa will have to be reviewed in terms of making them more rational.

Reporter Visits, Describes Renamo Headquarters

*MB2305112091 London BBC World Service in English
0430 GMT 23 May 91*

[Report on interview with INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY correspondent (Chris McGrear) by Lucy Hannon; place and date not given—from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] While the peace talks in Rome between Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels and the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Mozambique Government are underway there has been little let up in the war on the ground. But Renamo often seems to be a shadowy and even fragmentary movement.

Well, (Chris McGrear) of the London INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY newspaper has just spent nine days with Renamo inside Mozambique. He met Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama at his military headquarters, and then walked with the rebels for about 50km through Gorongosa Province. Lucy Hannon asked (Chris McGrear) what his impression was of the rebel leader:

[Begin recording] [(McGreear)] Mr. Dhlakama is very charming. He smiles a lot and is a very gracious host, insists on bringing bottles of whisky to the table even though he doesn't partake himself. But while he very much appeared to be a man that had overall control and

authority over his generals and people under his political control, I didn't get the feeling that he was the man with the finger on the pulse of what was happening. I think it was much more his Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Domingos who knew the nitty-gritty of both the new constitution that they have put to the negotiations, and the general state of negotiations. I think Mr. Dhlakama perhaps much more represents an idea and more of a philosophical leader.

[Hannon] And when you left the headquarters what's your impression of the rest of the command structure, what sort of an army is it?

[(McGrear)] Well, it's a very poorly equipped army. Most of the soldiers were very poorly dressed. They were wearing rugs, with the exception of the group of soldiers that were accompanying us who had brand new uniforms on, but still held the folds from the package, and obviously it had just been brought in for the presence of journalists and others. These small groups of soldiers were fairly well disciplined when their commanders were around, but when they weren't they relaxed a lot more. It was quite apparent that they had a very good control over the villages that we went through. People when we would arrive would line up, they would stand to attention, and they clearly, you see, weren't necessarily in fear, and I think some worrying fear, they certainly bowed to the authority of Renamo.

[Hannon] I mean, it's a very well documented fact that Renamo is particularly ruthless. Would you attribute it to that?

[(McGrear)] In the case of Gorongosa—and it is a well documented fact that Renamo is very ruthless—I would suspect it's now less that they are ruthless these days in that particular region. It's more that Renamo has simply by its long-time presence come to be accepted as the means of authority there, and although I think it is a very authoritarian in that particular region of Gorongosa, I don't think that intimidation was necessarily the order of the day any more.

[Hannon] And what do these soldiers do for food?

[(McGrear)] Well, the soldiers we saw took from the villages. When they arrived in a village it was the headman who would come to the villages and asked them what they wanted. And they would be provided with somewhere to sleep, and they would be provided with some food which was usually maize because that's widely available, and...

[Hannon, interrupting] I thought... [pause] But isn't there supposed to be a problem with famine there?

[(McGrear)] Not in that part of Gorongosa, no. It was quite apparent that while there is anything but a balanced diet for people in that region, there was sufficient food for basic nutrition. Maize as I say was the main form of feeding people. It seemed that the children were

poorly nourished, but I wouldn't say that they were at that point, in the places I saw anyway, in risk of dying.

[Hannon] What did the soldiers say they are fighting for?

[(McGrear)] Soldiers don't really say they are fighting for anything. They are fighting against Marxism, and that's quite apparent in the long and rather tedious political lectures that they give the villagers, and I think that very few of them have any idea of what kind of system is this that they think Renamo should replace the Marxist system that presently exists in Mozambique. There is very little discussion within Renamo ranks of democracy as it might be practiced, or even political and economic systems rather than an opposition to Marxism.

Ultimately, I think the peace talks will succeed. I very much got the impression from talking to Dhlakama that he would like to see an agreement, and that ultimately he realizes that he is very isolated. Renamo is very isolated in the international community, and that he might as well grasp this opportunity. And I think that the hitches and delays that we are seeing at the moment are more about maneuvering for greater Renamo influence in the new system than likely to lead to a failure or breakdown of talks. [end recording]

* Denmark Carries Out Emergency Programs in Tete

91AF0996B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
12 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] Several sectors in Tete Province, specifically agriculture (emergency), water, health, industry, and trade, are currently receiving support from the Danish International Development Authority (DANIDA), according to what reporters from our office in Beira have been told by Flemming Winther Olsen, who works for that agency in the city in question.

For the emergency sector, especially in agriculture—an area he has considered a priority since 1985—his agency has been providing support basically through imports of seed, production equipment, fertilizer, tools, and other materials.

In that same sector, Flemming Winther said that DANIDA was also providing support for rural extension work in addition to other aid being channeled to the DPA [Provincial Directorate of Agriculture], specifically for the establishment and implementation of an agricultural development project.

With respect to industry, particularly in the field of agro-industry, Flemming pointed out that this year the Danish agency will make a fund available to the IDIL (Institute for the Development of Local Industry) for use in developing the production of edible sunflower oil, orange juice, hot peppers, and so on.

Meanwhile, the Tete Water Company has received assistance estimated at \$6 million for work on the water distribution system in that city.

In the field of health, NOTICIAS has learned that DANIDA intends to get involved in the rehabilitation of facilities at the Provincial Hospital and at the health stations located in a few districts as well as in the construction of housing for doctors, the supplying of medicines, and the training and retraining of nursing personnel.

"We have already rehabilitated and equipped a children's home which currently houses orphans and children separated from their parents and whose construction cost \$1 million."

In addition, since the need exists for a link between the commercial and agricultural sectors, especially in rural areas, the Danish international agency has made various kinds of transportation equipment available for the sector in question, including in particular three 3.5-ton vans for the benefit of merchants in the districts of Angonia, Tsangano, and Moatize respectively, which, incidentally, are considered to be three priority areas in agriculture.

During the interview he granted to us, the same source pointed out that as far as current assistance is concerned, the intention is to introduce agriculture into the Tete Secondary School as a pilot project. According to him, that operation "will be extended to other regions and educational institutions in this province."

Among its other possibilities, the Danish International Development Agency also hopes to reestablish the Agricultural Training School which used to operate in Angonia and which has been moved temporarily to Boroma.

"We intend to establish a school where 50 percent of the classes will be devoted to agricultural training and each group of four students will have a 1.5-hectare farm," he said, adding later that "we want to combine theory and practice, especially so that the students will be able to sell the produce from their farms and use part of the profit to support themselves while giving the rest to the school."

* Industrial Agreement Signed With Swedish Firm

91AF0996A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
12 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] The distribution and marketing of bearings and other accessories for heavy industry and vehicles in this country is going to be handled through the Rolex enterprise under the terms of a protocol signed yesterday by that enterprise and Sweden's SKF [Swedish Ball Bearing Company], represented by the latter's regional representative.

The purpose of the project is to fill a gap that has existed for several years in the production, distribution, and marketing of those accessories in this country and to introduce new concepts into the supplying of potential users.

Under the terms of the protocol that was signed, Rolex, a Mozambican enterprise in the field in question, will provide more assistance for the users of those accessories, namely, CIFEL [Iron Works and Rolling Plant] Mozambique Cement, Mabor [expansion not given] of Mozambique, Maquinag [expansion not given], and several others. The assistance will include training, instruction, and every kind of technical support.

With the signing of the documents, the Mozambican enterprise Rolex, which deals in bearings and accessories, became the sole distributor of SKF products in Mozambique.

The nationwide distribution and marketing of those accessories is aimed basically at reducing the operating costs of production units and saving foreign exchange for our country, which instead of importing accessories of that kind itself will always have a supply on hand within the country.

It was said: "Until now there has been a great demand for SKF bearings and other accessories. But with the signing of this agreement, which gives Rolex access to SKF products, it can be said that a supply of those parts for the whole country is now assured."

We learned on the same occasion that those accessories had previously been obtained by imports of large quantities by various individuals. That situation was truly a handicap, because parts were imported up to a certain point, and not all the products were used.

According to the information given us in connection with the signing of the agreement, this Mozambican enterprise for importing and marketing bearings and accessories may soon expand into Sofala Province and then spread just about everywhere in the country.

Signing the agreement for the Mozambican side was the Rolex enterprise's representative, Muinhe Mufahaia, while Ji Pattison, the Swedish SKF's representative in southern Africa, signed for the Swedish side. The protocol is valid for 12 months, but can be canceled by either side upon prior notice.

Namibia

* 300,000 Carats Expected From Diamond Mines

91AF1087A Johannesburg ENGINEERING NEWS
in English 15 Mar 91 p 50

[Text] Consolidated Diamond Mining (CDM), a subsidiary of Swiss-based De Beers Centenary, has reportedly opened a new mine on the beaches of Chameis, 120 km north of Oranjemund in Namibia.

The mine, situated at the northern end of CDM's mining area, is expected to produce 75,000 carats of diamonds a year for two years.

The company has reportedly spent \$6.3-million to open the beaches and install the necessary infrastructure.

Existing screening plants were relocated to Chameis and modified with the construction of a new tipping section, spreader conveyor and product bin.

The plant is said to be able to screen 55,550 tons of diamonds a month.

The screened ore will then be trucked to a conglomerate crushing and treatment plant for further treatment.

The diamonds will be sorted and valued by UK's Fitch and Pooley, which has been appointed as the government's independent valuator.

The Central Selling Organisation (CSO), another De Beers' subsidiary based in London, will sell the diamonds.

Another De Beers' mine is at Elizabeth Bay.

The production target for the mine, which begins operations in June and involves a capex of \$53-million, is 250,000 carats a year.

* Worker Progress in Labor Negotiations Noted

91AF1087B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 28 Mar-4 Apr 91 p 19

[Text] After almost a year of consultation and discussion, Namibia's SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] government is closer to legislating a labour code for the country.

It is expected that a draft Bill could be tabled in parliament as early as next month.

Critics have blamed much of the labour unrest, especially in the public sector, on the "delay" in legislating a labour code and extending recognition to majority unions in the sector, which are mainly affiliates of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW).

Recognition

Part of the reason why NUNW public sector unions have been unable to win recognition is linked to a provision in the old legislation which prevents more than one union operating in any division of the public sector. Officials employed in the public service under the previous government have used this provision to block recognition of NUNW affiliates.

But former trade unionist and now a deputy minister of wildlife and tourism in Namibia, Ben Ulenga, says the strikes in the public sector were not necessarily a result of delays in recognition.

He points out that fears among workers that they would lose their pension benefits as a result of the privatisation of state pension funds were central to the strikes.

He also says that delays in legislating a labour code were not deliberate.

Consultation

Ulenga points out that care had to be taken in drafting the code and that this involved extensive consultation and discussion with trade unions. He says there has also been a delay in receiving comments from interest groups.

"I don't think there has been a deliberate delay. It's only that Namibia has been and still is in a complete mess when it comes to labour relations. And people say that when you put something in place that is supposed to last, then you should be careful, hence so much consultation and exchange of ideas," Ulenga says.

"It is now in its final stages and from what I can gather from the ministry of labour, the code could be tabled in parliament around April," he adds.

Progress

Despite the absence of a labour code and difficulties experienced by the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), unions have made considerable progress towards consolidating structures and formalising relations with management.

Ulenga's former union, the MUN [Mineworkers Union of Namibia] concluded at least five recognition agreements and has managed a significant increase in membership. The agreements were signed at Imcor Tin, Imcor Zinc, Karibib Mining and Construction and Tsumeb Corporation. Bosses at Rossing Uranium also agreed to negotiate with the union over a dispute around job grading.

And in the public sector, where workers embarked on a series of strikes last year, there are moves to grant recognition to majority unions, most of which are affiliated to the NUNW.

Staff associations currently enjoying recognition are not seen as unions by workers but structures controlled by officials from the South African Government. Most were said to have been imposed on the majority of workers and have now changed their names to project an image they hope will be more acceptable to public servants.

Changed

Some, for example, the Government Staff Association has simply changed its name to the Public Servants Union of Namibia and continues to enjoy recognition under the Swapo government.

Ulenga says there are a number of workers committees set up by members of the NUNW's public sector unions which represent the majority of workers. He feels strongly that these committees should be granted formal recognition instead of the old public sector unions, which have survived only because of old closed shop agreements.

Zambia**Kaunda Holds Talks With Zulu Leader Buthelezi**

MB2205183891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] President Kaunda has described the situation that has arisen in South Africa as very complex. The president, in discussions with the Zulu Chief, and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said only those that have faced similar situations could understand the problems South Africa is facing.

Speaking at the start of talks at State House, President Kaunda said after exchanging views with the envoys sent by Buthelezi, he thought of inviting the Zulu leader so that they could look at the matter together to try and find a solution.

Buthelezi: Violence Obstacle to Peace

MB2205195291 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said that the biggest obstacle to peace and majority rule in South Africa [RSA] is the black-against-black violence being experienced in that country.

Dr. Buthelezi, who arrived in Lusaka today to meet President Kaunda, said on arrival at Lusaka International Airport that more than 8,000 people have so far died in the violence. Dr. Buthelezi, who is also chief minister of the KwaZulu, said that the black-against-black violence in South Africa cannot end without the participation of all major parties in an effort to find peace.

Dr. Buthelezi is meeting with President Kaunda as a follow-up to discussions between a delegation he sent to Lusaka recently. [sentence as heard]

UNIP Accused of 'Conniving' With Opposition

MB2005204991 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 20 May 91

[Text] Western Province Political Secretary Winston Kamwana has accused some UNIP [United National Independence Party] leaders in the province of conniving with opposition parties by giving them room to gain ground in the province. Officially opening the Sesheke District party conference, Comrade Kamwana said that some leaders have become double dealers because while they were still in the leadership, they also were conniving with opposition parties. He cautioned UNIP members against being swayed by the opposition and urged them to work hard to ensure that UNIP is (?retained) in the coming elections.

Zimbabwe**Mugabe 'Prepared' To Offer Asylum to Mengistu**

AU2405102091 Paris AFP in English 0948 GMT 24 May 91

[Text] Paris, May 24 (AFP)—Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said Friday in Paris he was prepared to offer political asylum to former Ethiopian strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam on "humanitarian grounds".

Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe on Tuesday as rebels closed in on the Ethiopian capital.

Mr. Mugabe, who had said in London on Thursday that he would give the ousted Ethiopian leader asylum, told reporters here that "on humanitarian grounds" he would "offer him the necessary facilities for the period he will be in exile".

Asked how long Col. Mengistu, who has business interests in Zimbabwe, might remain there, Mr. Mugabe said: "It's up to him".

Mr. Mugabe, who had left Harare before Col. Mengistu arrived in the Zimbabwean capital, said he would talk to the ousted Ethiopian leader on his return.

The Zimbabwean president made his remarks here after a 30-minute talk with French President Francois Mitterrand, focusing on bilateral relations, Zimbabwe's debt, the post-war situation in the Gulf and South Africa.

Mr. Mugabe called for South African President Frederik de Klerk to do "much more" to end apartheid, saying that round-table negotiations must be held in order to produce a new constitution.

He was to leave for London after his Paris talks.

*** New Metal Hardening Factory Inaugurated**

91AF1050B Harare THE HERALD in English 5 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Astral Hardening (Pvt) Ltd yesterday launched a \$5.5 million high-technology metal hardening plant at Stapleford near Harare that is expected to improve the quality of Zimbabwean metal products.

The plant, imported from France under a protocol agreement, ushers in a new era in the metal treatment technology in Zimbabwe and is expected to enable local manufacturers to make a wider range of metal products.

Such products were expected to have a beneficial downstream effect such as the creation of employment, the Deputy Minister of Industry and Commerce, Cde Moton Malianga, standing in for his minister, said.

Features of the plant include heat-treating stainless steel, bronze and brass annealing, nickel and copper brazing and the sintering of carbon parts.

The new factory would be able to undertake any metal hardening processes from weapons refurbishment to the hardening of hoe blades.

Astral Hardening has been formed through financing by TA Holdings and Sabata and JHLR Holdings and the enthusiasm of businessman Mr Joe le Roux.

*** Details of Railways Modernization Plan Given**

91AF1050A Harare THE HERALD in English
5 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] The National Railways of Zimbabwe [NRZ] plans to spend more than \$700 million in the next five years to upgrade and modernise its system and rolling stock, both passenger and cargo.

Addressing a conference yesterday organised by the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries and the Beira Corridor Group, the Minister of Transport and National Supplies, Mr Denis Norman, said crucial World Bank backing had been won.

The conference is looking at the national infrastructure needed for rapid development and yesterday was devoted to transport after the energy and communication sessions of Wednesday.

A paper by the general manager of NRZ, Cde Alvord Mabena, detailed the proposed programme.

The railways were experiencing a shortage of both steam and diesel-electric locomotives, largely because of some old and unreliable diesel-electric locomotives.

Some of these locomotives had had to be stabled before the expiry of their working life. Steam locomotives were short because of obsolescence. Twenty diesel-electric locomotives had been hired as a stop-gap.

The railways proposed buying new locomotives for the mainline and to re-engine another 64 diesel locomotives for shunting and ballasting.

Thirteen new locomotives were being bought for about \$58.5 million and the 64 were being re-engined for \$42.6 million. A recent agreement with the United States covered the 13 new locos and the new engines needed by another 43.

In a second phase about eight more diesel locomotives would be added to the fleet to replace all 81 steam locomotives now in service. The railways would then use just electric and diesel motive power.

As part of a 10-year replacement programme 2,213 wagons were being replaced. So far 252 of the new wagons had been commissioned. The new wagons would be able to carry 30 percent more than those they replace and those bought in the next five years were expected to cost \$213.9 million, said Cde Mabena.

From 1993 existing passenger coaches would need replacement and the railways were planning on buying 155 between 1992 and 2000, half by the end of 1995, and these would cost \$216.7 million.

Control and signalling improvements would cost another \$46 million and vehicles for the Road Motor Services more than \$50 million.

Replacement tarpaulins would cost \$14 million in the five years and the extensions of electrified line to Mount Hampden and Msasa another \$16 million.

Mr Norman said that "the trigger had already been pulled" and the order for wagons, computers and signals made.

Despite its problems, Mr Norman said the NRZ had been successful in goods traffic, managing to move bulk commodities on time and getting fertilisers to farmers before the start of the last rainy season.

Cde Mabena noted that the railways were likely to carry 15.3 million tonnes this financial year, compared to 14.26 million tonnes in 1989-90 and 13.64 million tonnes in 1988-89.

By the end of the five years of investment, goods traffic should hit 16.2 million tonnes.

Mr Norman was unhappy about passenger services, which he described as "appalling." He thought a far better standard of service would help to attract passengers, especially on longer routes.

The minister said that while privatising the NRZ was not really an option, some services, like buffet cars, station kiosks and storage could certainly be investigated for possible letting to franchise holders in the private sector.

Ghana

* Government Urged To Privatize Banks

91AF1055A Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC
in English 25 Mar 91 p 9

[Article: "Privatise State-Owned Banks...Suggests Atta-Bronyah"—first paragraph is PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC introduction]

[Text] The government has been urged to privatise the state-owned banks to enable them to cope with modern competitive banking.

Mr. Kofi Atta-Bronyah, Executive Secretary of the Ghana Institute of Bankers, made the suggestion on Saturday when he addressed a meeting of the Senior Staff Association of the Standard Chartered Bank Ghana Limited in Accra.

Speaking on "competition in banking", Mr. Atta-Bronyah observed that such a policy should be part of the ongoing banking reform programme, pointing out that the proceeds of the sale of shares in those banks can better be used for socially accepted projects.

He said "what is now emerging is a more competitive environment. If the present trend does continue, there is going to be competition in banking and this will intensify with the passage of time, making the banks more aggressive and innovative.

"Competition denoted that there are alternatives and the individual has freedom of choice and this in my view will be good for banking," he said.

Mr. Atta-Bronyah said he strongly supports competitive banking because the trend will eventually see more improvements in the country's banking services, adding "the banks will be forced to respond to the needs of the people.

"Already the banks are facing stiff competition in savings mobilisation from the insurance organisations, the building societies and the finance companies whose liabilities from the point of view of the investor are almost as liquid as bank deposits and have the added attraction of a higher return.

"We are also seeing a spread in interest rates and already interest on Treasury Bills is so attractive that the banks stand to lose on savings deposits if they do not do something about the rates."

The Executive Secretary said to make the competition fairer, the classification of some banks as primary and others as secondary with the attendant privileges as low reserve ratios must cease.

Mr. Atta-Bronyah said the restrictions on some banks confining them to some sectors of the economy should also be removed.

All banks, he said, "should be able to compete for deposits from all sectors of the economy and grant credits according to what they think is fair.

"Certain other restrictions, such as instruction to government departments and other parastatal organisations to keep their accounts at a particular bank, are not fair and need review".

"If the government wishes, it can adopt the Nigerian example where the accounts of all government Ministries and departments are kept at the central bank", he further suggested.

Mr. Atta-Bronyah stressed that in order to meet all these challenges, it is essential banking education is organised to provide the appropriate skilled personnel to man the system.

He expressed the hope that the new banking college would provide this great need.—GNA

Ivory Coast

Cabinet Meets, Discusses University Situation

AB2305101091 Abidjan Radiodiffusion-Television
Ivoirienne Radio in French 1930 GMT 22 May 91

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers held a meeting today from 1100 to 1330 under the chairmanship of President Houphouet-Boigny. The session was essentially devoted to the current situation at the University of Abidjan following the strike order issued by the National Union for Research and Higher Education. The analysis of the facts shows that the union has violated the appropriate regulations which prescribe conciliatory moves and the issuance of a strike notice before resorting to grave decisions. It also shows the union's determination to penalize, through its action, the students who simply wish to complete the academic year which they have been pursuing with much effort and conscientiousness.

Since yesterday, the overwhelming majority of students have been going to the auditoriums in all faculties, but their teachers have chosen to stay away. It is obvious that the teachers' objective is to obtain the closure of schools in Ivory Coast, to frustrate the efforts being made by parents and, above all, to wreck the future of our children.

The government reaffirms its determination to prevent those bent on wrecking the Ivorian educational system from acting freely. It has already taken every measure, especially security measures, to ensure that our youth receive the education they deserve. Ivory Coast schools will not be closed down. The government will assume all its responsibilities in this regard. [passage omitted]

*** Alternatives for Economic 'Crisis' Few**

91AF1083A London AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL
in English 19 Apr 91 pp 2, 3

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Cote d'Ivoire is grappling with its fourth Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the prospects are not good, in spite of the best efforts of Prime Minister Alassane Drahmane Ouattara. Labouring under the burden of Africa's largest per capita debt, his government is now faced with the choice of either cutting the salaries of public employees—the course urged in a confidential World Bank report shown to AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL—or defaulting on the country's international obligations, which will mean a rupture with donor institutions.

It is a cruel twist for Ouattara, who has taken brave and important decisions since he was brought into government last year, and has already cut large quantities of dead wood from the country's administrative and political system.

Cote d'Ivoire's economic and financial difficulties date from the 1970s. Paradoxically, they have become more apparent with the passage of a series of Structural Adjustment Programmes master-minded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, culminating in the current fourth SAP. There was a brief recovery in 1985-86 thanks to a rise in world coffee and cocoa prices, but it proved short-lived.

Ouattara, the former governor of the *Banque centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'ouest* in Dakar, was appointed to the government by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny to negotiate the fourth Structural Adjustment Programme following a series of demonstrations last year (AC, Vol 31, No 5). He soon implemented drastic austerity measures, and in the last quarter of 1990 these were supplemented by sweeping political reforms, topped off by presidential, legislative and municipal elections which saw the triumphal re-election of Houphouet-Boigny and the ruling *Parti democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire* (PDCI). This cycle of reforms was completed by Ouattara's formal appointment as prime minister, a post he already held *de facto*. He formed a government notable for its reduction of ministerial posts from the habitual 30 or 40 to a mere 19, many of them filled by newcomers.

After further reforms of the financial system in December, the government is now in the depths of a new crisis resulting from the deterioration of its current and external accounts. It is now clear that revenue for the current financial year will be much lower than expected, and especially customs receipts. The cost of public-sector salaries, however, remains high. The interest due this year on the public debt is roughly equivalent to the entire revenue of the state, leaving a financing gap of some 300,000 million CFA [African Financial Community] [francs] (\$1,063 mn) for the 1991 financial year.

To these obligations must be added the repayment of debts owed by the state to Ivorian companies which have done work on government contracts but remain unpaid. These elements combined threaten to knock the fourth SAP off course.

This new crisis comes at a time when Ouattara has succeeded in imposing some order in the administration. He has replaced two key administrative barons—the former director of customs, Angoua Koffi, and the former director of taxes, Amany Goli, both of whom had held their jobs since the 1960s. Their closeness to Houphouet-Boigny protects them from any theoretical risk of judicial proceedings consequent upon their tenure of office. Other stalwarts of the Houphouet-Boigny system whom Ouattara has swept away include the president of the *Caisse nationale de prevoyance sociale* (CNPS), the body which collects national insurance contributions to the tune of some 20,000 mn CFA [francs] per year and which pays out about half of that sum in pensions, medical costs and other social service payments. The other half of the CNPS money has mysteriously disappeared. Also departed are the president of the coffee and cocoa marketing board, the *Caisse de stabilisation*, and Leon Naka, president of the *Caisse autonome d'amortissement*, which manages the external debt. The numbers of civil servants with the rank of directors and under-director, about 500 in total, have been heavily reduced, with Ouattara personally supervising new appointments at this level. Most of the newcomers are young, highly qualified and carry no political baggage or unsavoury past. Large public sector enterprises have been audited, and thousands of temporary workers have been fired.

In spite of these draconian measures, the latest economic indicators are so poor that the government is unwilling to publish relevant details. The public treasury is obliged to perform some miracles of creative accounting to pay public servants. For the first time since independence, the budget for the current year, running from January to December, has not yet been voted by the National Assembly. Current negotiations with the IMF are tense. The first repayment of World Bank debt, which cannot be rescheduled, is shortly due and amounts to some 30,000 mn CFA [francs]. Cote d'Ivoire simply cannot pay this, and it is said in informed circles that the French treasury is preparing to pay the World Bank debt.

So it is inevitable that the Ivorian public must prepare for further sacrifices. The government is preparing a new round of privatisations, with 79 public enterprises shortly to be offered for sale. This exercise will bring little or no new income since private business has been leaving the country for years and there is a pattern of net disinvestment.

So heavily is the country in debt—to the tune of some \$16,000 mn at present—that it has no hope of raising new money abroad, other than small sums of adjustment money from France, the IMF and the World Bank. Investment fell from 18 percent of Gross Domestic

Product [GDP] in 1980 to 6 percent in 1987, which means that little saving is possible here. A large slice of export receipts is already consumed by debt-servicing. The *Caisse de stabilisation* has no funds to purchase coffee and cocoa from farmers, and actually owes some 300,000 mn CFA [francs] since it went into debt at a time when it was trying to maintain high levels of payment.

The one obvious place where savings can be made is in public-sector salaries. But this is of enormous political sensitivity, as last year's demonstrations showed when the subject was mooted then. The powerful teachers' union, SYNARES, which was on the point of fighting in 1990, is once more girding itself for battle, threatening a general strike if the government touches its members' salaries.

According to a confidential World Bank report (Number 8748-IVC, based on research done in 1989), the World Bank is proposing cuts based on an estimate that salaries absorb 50 percent of state revenue. Half of this sum is accounted for by actual salaries, the rest by fringe benefits and allowances. The salaries of the 130,000 Ivorian public-sector workers, and especially of the 45,000 who are teachers, are indeed high. Teachers account for some 60 percent of all state salaries, and according to the World Bank, they are better paid than their counterparts in Cameroon, Nigeria and even Morocco, Spain and Portugal. The Bank proposes leaving teachers' pay intact but attacking their fringe benefits. If the government manages to reduce public sector remuneration costs by 20-25 percent, the Bank estimates, the public sector deficit could fall from its current 18-20 percent of GDP to some 12-14 percent.

That is easier said than done. Farmers' incomes have fallen in the last two years by as much as 75 percent. The official state purchasing price for coffee is now 50 CFA [francs] and cocoa 200 CFA [francs] per kilo, whereas until 1989 both sold at 400 CFA [francs]. In fact many planters don't sell their coffee to the state at all, either leaving it to rot on the trees because it isn't economic to harvest it, or selling to private traders at below the official prices. Why should not urban workers have their wages cut in line with those of rural workers? Because, they argue, they now need to sustain their relatives in the villages as well as their own families.

The government is thus faced with a stark choice: either it gives up all pretence of adjustment and resigns itself to a break in relations with donors, or it reduces salaries at the risk of sparking off social unrest. Politically speaking, it does not look attractive to run the risk of a social explosion in order to save a relatively small sum for the public purse.

So far, the very rich remain immune from Ouattara's austerity drive. It is unlikely that this powerful group will allow an attack on its privileges in the name of structural adjustment. And still Ouattara has to contend with a president who takes decisions behind his back, such as

his decision last February to finance a splendid funeral for his old comrade Auguste Denise, paid for with funds from a public company at a cost of some 7,000 mn CFA [francs]. Houphouet-Boigny also negotiated the privatisation of the national electricity company directly with the French group Bouygues, with little benefit to the Ivorian economy. Prime Minister Ouattara is reported to have threatened to resign on several occasions. One day, the 'old man,' President Houphouet-Boigny, might push him too far.

Liberia

Banned Party Reactivated, To Join in Elections

AB2205091891 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 20 May 91

[Text] As part of its reactivation activities, the True Whig Party, TWP, over the weekend, held a large rally in Monrovia which was attended by hundreds of its supporters and partisans. Several speakers including Mr. Clarence Simpson addressed the rally. Party executives told reporters that over 1,500 members are reactivating the party. Reactivation will address questions regarding the party's real and corporate estates.

Meanwhile, the True Whig Party says it has plans to fully participate in the October general elections in Liberia. The party was banned by the then People's Redemption Council government in 1980, following the coup.

* Nimba Citizens Issue Statement on Crisis

91AF1054A Monrovia TORCHLIGHT in English
11 Apr 91 pp 2, 7

[Text] The following is a position statement by the citizens of Nimba County on the current Liberian crisis:

We, the citizens of Nimba County, deeply concerned about the current crisis facing our nation which has resulted into lawlessness, senseless massacre of thousands of innocent citizens, displacement of our entire population, and total destruction of our political and economic institutions, all of which have clearly undermined the sovereignty of the Liberian nation and our sense of national unity; and recognizing the urgent need for a peaceful resolution of said conflict and accepting our obligation to ensure national reunification and reconstruction, do hereby resolve to express our concerns and make the following appeals:

It is no accident that the majority of the men and women who constitute the fighting force of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] comprise combatants from Nimba. Given the historical situation and the ways in which the Doe regime ruthlessly persecuted, humiliated, and attempted systematically to exterminate the Nimba population, and considering the gruesome murders of other Liberians, we were moved to fight in our defense and to protect our interest.

The Doe regime was not only an enemy to the Nimba people, but also a dangerous obstacle to peace, freedom, justice, and constitutional democracy in Liberia.

Consequently, our effort to remove this tyrant from power by all means necessary, was in the common interest of all Liberians.

We regret, however, that in the process to remove dictator Doe from power, undue atrocities have been and continue to be inflicted on innocent citizens by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. We blatantly condemn these willful and wanton acts of savagery. We also wish to make it clear that these human rights abuses must not be attributed to the people of Nimba County as an ethnic group for the following reasons:

(1) The warring factions are not Nimba organizations and they do not comprise only Nimba citizens. In fact, among the leadership of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia are the following non-Nimbaians:

Charles Taylor.....Montserrado County
Tom Woewiyu.....Grand Bassa County
Nyundueh Monokormnah.....Grand [word indistinct]
County
Laveli Supuwood.....Lofa County

(2) Nimba citizens have themselves been victims of these human rights abuses. For example, the murder of prominent Nimba citizens including Jackson Doe, David Dwanyen, Moses Duopu, Cooper Teah, David Toweh, to name a few.

(3) Some of these killings, particularly in the case of prominent citizens, were by design on account of Taylor's personal ambition for power, while others can be attributed to lack of discipline and coordination on the part of the NPFL leadership.

Mr. Taylor's personal greed for the leadership of Liberia, despite overwhelming opposition by the people, has become the obstacle to finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the current crisis.

We appreciate that social disagreement is healthy for society, but only when it is used as means to an end and not as an end in itself. The current crisis is a manifestation of our dissatisfaction with conditions that existed in our society. Our goal therefore, should be to bring about much needed [word indistinct].

Protracted delays in finding a peaceful solution attest to the fact that Mr. Taylor and his henchmen view the crisis as an end in itself, and not as a means to reach a consensus in our national interest and aspirations. In view of these concerns, we wish to make the following appeals:

(1) We wish to reiterate the clarion call of the Liberian people and the international community, that the forces of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia demonstrate

their love for Liberia by laying down their arms, cooperating with the peace initiatives of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] member states and accepting and abiding by the decisions of the All-Liberia National Conference.

(2) We particularly call on the sons and daughters of Nimba, fighting for the NPFL, to understand the grave consequences of the war for Nimba County in particular and Liberia in general. It has become clear that Taylor's main aim is not to free Liberia of the Doe regime as he claimed; his primary aim is to impose himself as another dictator. We ask that you do not allow yourselves and our country to be used by Mr. Taylor in his personal greed for power.

(3) We continue to appreciate the cooperation of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia [INPFL] led by Brig. Gen. Prince Johnson in their effort to find a peaceful and lasting solution to the Liberian crisis. We appeal to the INPFL to continue to live up to its commitment to the ECOWAS peace efforts, and ensure a peaceful resolution of the current crisis, in order to put Liberia on the proper course for constitutional democratic rule.

(4) We appeal to all political parties and interest groups to set aside party interest and individual group interest in favor of collective national interest of the Liberian people. We strongly believe that a lasting solution to the current crisis depends on our ability as a people and nation to resolve national issues by consensus. It is therefore, our expectation that the present All-Liberia National Conference will manifest these aspirations.

(5) The Samuel Doe military dictatorship has taught us a lesson that, he that comes to power through the barrel of the gun, will use the gun to keep himself in power against the will of the people. We therefore, appeal to all Liberians throughout the length and breadth of this country to unite in resisting the attempt by Mr. Taylor and his henchmen to impose themselves as leaders on the Liberian people.

(6) We continue to be gratified by the humanitarian efforts and intervention by the member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the international community aimed at finding peaceful and lasting solution to the Liberian crisis. It is our hope that ECOWAS will continue to play its mediating role, act to contain military aggression where necessary, maintain law and order, supervise the reorganization of the military and paramilitary institutions, and remain in Liberia until a new civilian government is installed.

Finally, we wish to remind all Liberians that no society can be any better than the character of its people. Events of the past, particularly in the last decade, have taught us lessons which we must guide ourselves against as we attempt to give this nation a new sense of direction.

We have learned that sectionalism, tribalism, and political domination of one particular tribal or ethnic group over the others are divisive and destructive elements in a society.

We have all made grave mistakes and have paid the price, some greater than others. We, therefore, appeal to our sense of reconciliation, togetherness, oneness of purpose and a commitment to the building of a society on the foundation of justice, equality and freedom for all.

Done in the city of Monrovia, this 29th day of March, AD 1991, for the citizens of Nimba:

Dr. Joseph Saye Guannu
Hon. Gabriel G. Farnago

Nigeria

Police Warn Parties To Disband Youth Wings

*AB2205210391 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1500 GMT 22 May 91*

[Excerpt] The two political parties, the National Republican Convention, NRC, and the Social Democratic Party, SDP, have been asked to disband their youth wings immediately. This warning was issued today in Lagos by the inspector general of police, Alhaji Aliyu Atta. The police also warned youth not to enlist in the wings because of the consequences. The police public relations officer, (Frank Oditte), briefing newsmen in Lagos today, said that the formation of the youth wings by the SDP and NRC violated Decree 27 of 1989. [passage omitted]

Lifting of Ban on British Petroleum Analyzed

*AB2305234491 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 21 May 91*

[News Analysis by Uche Uweche]

[Text] The decision by the federal government to lift the ban on the operations of the British Petroleum in Nigeria has gone down in the history of relations between Nigeria and Britain as a very significant development. The ban was imposed to the oil company in 1979 by the then military administration. It was one of the ways Nigeria reacted to the obvious reluctance of Britain to pave the way for Zimbabwe's independence. Among other things, the British Petroleum was renamed African Petroleum. But 12 years later, the merging had to be reconsidered.

The minister of petroleum resources, Professor Jibril Amaju, explained that the issues which generated the ban had changed significantly and many observers agreed with it. Zimbabwe for instance has since 1980, been an independent country. Also there has been some remarkable progress made regarding the situation in racist South Africa. This is reflected in the various reforms announced by the present regime in Pretoria.

Apart from that, relations between Nigeria and Britain have improved considerably over the years with the exchange of visits by leaders of the two countries. The decision to lift the ban may also be seen as a practical demonstration of the avowed determination of the Babangida administration to build upon the solid foundation of friendship and cooperation with all friendly nations.

It is however regrettable that unlike Nigeria, Britain does not see any wisdom in the use of economic sanctions as an effective weapon for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. The British authorities insist that sanctions are not advisable and that only negotiated settlement will bring about the much desired peace in the racist enclave. But it is obvious that this position has more to do with the desire to protect British interests in South Africa than the need to defend the dignity of man. It is well known that peaceful persuasions aimed at making the Pretoria regime reconsider its obnoxious policy, proved ineffective. The relatively little progress made so far towards the dismantling of apartheid in that troubled part of the continent, is attributable to the effect of sanctions imposed on the racists.

The relevance of the international cooperation is underscored by the fact that no nation, no matter how richly endowed with human and natural resources, can achieve all its objectives entirely in isolation. This is why every country whether developed or developing, attached great importance to maintaining and strengthening cordial relations with other nations. In other words, international cooperation provides a conducive atmosphere through which global economic problems could be minimized.

As members of the United Nations and the Commonwealth, Nigeria and Britain believe that peace, justice, and prosperity should prevail in all the countries of the world. Nigeria and the other progressive nations have consistently emphasized the need for equitable distribution of the world resources but the policies of the so-called advanced countries including Britain in relation to that demand, cannot be said to be encouraging. Instead of equitable economic relations, the gap between the rich and poor nations has continued to be widening.

Nigeria is relentlessly making efforts to develop a virile national economy thereby making life more comfortable for the people. The improved relations between Nigeria and Britain will be more meaningful if the British authorities show greater commitment to the need to cooperate with Nigeria to achieve this objective. The time has come to correct the imbalance in the economic relations between the two countries which have been in favor of Britain. And one way this can be done, is for more British industrialists to take advantage of the vast investment opportunities and the improved conditions under which foreign companies operate in the country. The strong historical ties between Nigeria and Britain is

an unviable legacy which the (?inheritors) should continue to exploit for the overall benefit of the people of the two countries.

Senegal

* Reporting on Continued Strife in Casamance

* Feuds, 'Terrorism' Involved

91AF1009A Dakar SOPI in French 1 Mar 91 p 6

[Article by Mbemba Drame: "Casamance: Terror in Manga-Counda"]

[Text] Initially perceived by many observers as an ethnic and religious crisis, with Father Augustin Diamacoune Senghor's "unnatural" involvement as a background, Casamance separatism had long boiled down to a sectarian movement initiated and developed by the Diola ethnic group. Thus, the movement took a dramatic turn with a series of murders that eventually gave the impression of a crisis that the authorities were consistently unable to handle.

The circumstances surrounding the birth of the Casamance separatist movement are the subject of interpretations as diverse as they are complex, but its consequences lead to rather sad conclusions. It is the tragedy of a crisis that was kept going to the point where it now undermines the mentality of the working classes, who bear the brunt of it.

Actually, there had been some talk of sectarianism being hatched by the Diolas who, without consulting the other components of the population were said to have initiated a struggle, the (quite serious) implications of which were not supposed to compromise the relatively peaceful life of the other social groups, who remained neutral.

Thus, the backdrop for the separatists' entire motivation went beyond the very meaning of the revolt of frustrated populations; they were claiming the right to independence contained in the clause agreed on with the French colonial power. In his time, Father Diamacoune had developed this thesis, which had become the separatists' favorite theme.

Certainly, the authorities would have been well advised to try and solve this thorny problem once and for all before it was too late. But our leaders' suicidal inertia and their silence discouraged all initiatives and eventually brought forth a disaster that is hard to assess.

Although the separatists presented their movement as a means for a struggle headed and controlled by a group of native soldiers silently at work in the motherly Casamance forest, the series of murders they have now initiated unavoidably turn into "pervasive terrorism," which explains the total inefficiency of anti-separatist efforts.

Thus, the boastful claims of Governor Dieng—who must have recovered from his utopian rush to an immediate, definitive and easy solution—proved vain in the face of the daily refutations inflicted by the recrudescence and recurrence of the murders.

Is that true separatism, i.e., the efforts of an organized movement with well-defined objectives, or is it a form of terrorism?

This question, I believe, deserves clarification. Actually, although separatism takes on political and social overtones based on criteria that reflect the imperious need for a "liberating" independence, the new dimensions it assumes are nevertheless worrying.

The recent emergence of the various forms of expression of the separatist virus consistently reveals the ambitions of ill-intentioned individuals who pose as "freedom fighters." In Simbandi Balante, from where SOPI reported in its last issue on the terrorist escalation, it now seems that a new center of tension was started. After two were killed and several wounded, the people were further dismayed by a series of arsons and plunderings that turned this Balanta-Counda pilot village into a new crucible for disguised separatism in Casamance. Confirmed reports indicate that these acts were committed by Guinea-Bissauans "operating" at regular hours with the express purpose of extracting money from peaceful and already sorely tried Senegalese citizens.

After Simbandi, Manga-Counda (another village on the road to the South), experienced its own somber days last week, when the village chief, Karfa Manga, was arrested by the police who are said to have taken him to Zinguichor for belonging to the Separatist Movement; his body was returned to the village later on. The sad list of those arrested in Manga-Counda also included Mamadou Lamine Manga, Sanka Sadio, Sirfo Sane, Labaly Cisse, who were all released after questioning, while Mamadou Lamine Coly, an elementary school teacher on long-term sick leave remained in custody.

The whole complexity of separatism lies in an endless settling of scores: people will denounce their enemy of yesterday in order to have him arrested under arbitrary conditions. On the sad list of those arrested we also note the name of Nioukoling Tamba, a forestry operator, said to have been killed by a member of the armed forces whose family had a history of fighting with Tamba's family.

The morale of the Casamance people is now low, for two reasons. First, the psychosis of separatism, leading to a useless death that can be the result of a mere denunciation, often without any proper investigation.

Then, the attacks of "occasional" separatist terrorists who mercilessly ransom the people, threatening their lives.

One should note that the new dimensions of the crisis are the result of unconscionable inaction on the part of the

authorities who, instead of initiating serious consultations while there was still time, attempted to settle a political problem by military means.

This certainly overlooked the fact that the native Diola tends to be rather vindictive. If you challenge him, he will give himself the airs of a martyr and defend himself to his last breath. The appointment of a military governor as head of the regional executive body, with an intimidating flourish, eventually added fuel to the flames.

These disastrous phenomena, disguised as expeditious solutions, only serve to make the crisis more acute and eventually lead to appalling excesses.

In the context of such a serious rift, the announced publication of a white paper on Casamance separatism does not seem to provide a definitive solution to such a serious crisis.

Fear of death has now become the overwhelming concern of the Casamance people; it is at last well-anchored in their daily life, as their *joie de vivre* slowly gives way to suspicion, mistrust, in short the constant anxiety of those whose life is in danger.

* Government Talks Spurned

91AF1009B Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
8-14 Mar 91 p 4

[Article by Ibrahima Mbodji: "The Separatist Drift"—first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] The government's call for a dialogue is answered by the sound of weapons. Internal strife in the Casamance movement hampers any dialogue.

The government's white paper on the situation in Casamance is published at a time when a definite will to ease the situation is becoming evident. Witness the president of the Republic's statement at the cabinet meeting of 5 March 1991, after his meeting with Casamance deputies. Abdou Diouf "reaffirmed his determination to boost security in the south, and to strive to restore peace and national concord."

Yet, the only echo to these words is the noise of weapons; after a few moments of relative peace, violence in the south brutally resumed with separatist attacks. Thus, in the night of Sunday 3 to Monday 4 March, the village of Boutoute, near Ziguinchor, was attacked and six people were killed. Civilians, according to official sources (other sources mention eight killed). The victims included two young shepherds, aged 11 and 17. The fighting is said to have lasted several hours, after which the separatists set fire to houses and ransacked shops.

This attack reflects the current trend followed by the separatists. These thefts, plundering, and exactions directed at the civilian populations smack of organized crime more than anything else. They occur with such regularity that the region is thrown back in a worrying

state of insecurity. During February, no fewer than 15 rebel attacks were thus reported, including 12 in the Kolda area and three toward Ziguinchor. And casualties add up. About 150 have been killed in the six months since the uprising in the South began.

The ease with which the rebels seem to operate could be explained by the fact that, as an incentive to political dialogue, the army eased its pressure on an area it had managed to control efficiently. Thus, an official source (Mr. Medoune Fall, to the French Press Agency) acknowledged that talks were taking place between the government and some partisans of "good will" from the Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). But the dissensions that split the movement and the existence of many uncontrollable armed bands probably do not promote a return to peace.

The white paper mentions President Diouf's appeal, offering the nation's pardon to those among the separatists who will choose the path of dialogue and reconciliation. However, considering the latest tragic developments, the MFDC hardliners do not seem in the least inclined to sit down at the negotiation table.

* Bissau Drops Rebel Support

91AF1009C Dakar LE TEMOIN in French
12 Mar 91 p 4

[Article signed M.O.N: "Casamance: MFDC (Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance) Between Bissau, Banjul, and Nouakchott"]

[Text] "The political bureau (of the Socialist Party—editor's note) estimated that neighboring countries whose territories are used as bases by the rebels should show more solidarity with Senegal, and adopt a more responsible and more cooperative attitude in order to definitely solve this painful problem...."

This excerpt from the communique released after the last meeting of the Socialist Party's political bureau reflects the authorities' explicit—and belated!—acknowledgment of the neighboring countries' involvement in the destabilization activities that are taking place in Casamance under cover of separatism.

Until recently (and still today, but to a lesser extent), Guinea-Bissau was used as a rear base and sanctuary by the MFDC troops. There, they would find housing, food, training camps, and facilities to take care of their wounded. They were obligingly provided with weapons and ammunition. However, after the war that opposed it to Senegal in May 1990, Bissau decided to stop all aid to the rebels and to cooperate frankly and loyally with the Senegalese authorities. President Joao Bernardo Vieira also reaffirmed this early in February, in an interview with our special correspondent in Bissau, Mbagnick Diop.

"General Vieira is sincere; the government of Guinea-Bissau is sincere, too. They even talk of a confederation.

All commanders of units based in the border areas where sanctuaries were located have since been replaced. The present consul in Ziguinchor is a close associate of President Vieira; we cooperate very closely. Whenever I need something clarified, I call him directly and he contacts his government, which orders an inquiry. Currently (Sunday 3 March—editor's note), he is in Bissau, checking—among other things—reports concerning Ngore (a village in Guinea-Bissau used as a base by the rebels—editor's note). General Amadou Abdoulaye Dieng, governor of Ziguinchor, told us.

The mayor of Ziguinchor, Robert Sagna, shares this opinion: "I believe that President Nino is sincere; so is the government. But, over there, provincial governors are like kings in their provinces; they can do as they please and it does not mean that the central government is involved...."

The people we talked to, both in Ziguinchor and in Dakar, believe that the president of Guinea-Bissau is currently playing a difficult game and that he does not have full control over the situation in some provinces. He must face the problem of the Mancagnes, an ethnic group to which a former colonel, executed after an attempt coup, belonged. Now, the Mancagnes have a longstanding difference with the Balantes. Therefore, they could have welcomed rebels, without the government knowing it, and urged them to attack the Balante zone in Senegal.

Another problem that the authorities of our neighbor to the south must face is that of the Fling [Front for the Struggle for Guinea-Bissau Independence], the oldest organized opposition to the regime, whose leaders lived for a long time in exile in Senegal. The Fling dreams of duplicating in Guinea-Bissau the coup successfully carried out by the MPD (Movement for Democracy) in Cape Verde, where the brother-party of the PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] bit the dust after the first free elections organized in the archipelago since the country's independence.

These, therefore, are all malcontents who may have good reasons to support Casamance freedom fighters in order to thwart good relations between Senegal and Guinea.

If the Guinean president is credited with good will, the same is not true of his Gambian counterpart. "President Nino is sincere, but I would not say the same of the Gambians," Robert Sagna said, but declined to say more. "Gambia supports the rebels," a military chief said bluntly. "We have the address and list of MFDC party authorities in Serekunda and in other Gambian towns. Abba Badian (one of the movement's ideologists, the very man to whom Collin gave 20 million to negotiate with the rebels, and who went to London to denigrate Senegal at Amnesty International) was moving freely in Gambia; we know his various addresses. Other leaders of the movement, implied in several bloody attacks against Senegal, are not in the least bothered by

the police in Gambia. The Gambian authorities claim that these are refugees who risk torture and other exactions if they are handed over to Senegal. They say that Amnesty International would not like that and that President Diawara already received 200 protest letters when a few rebels were extradited to Senegal. We asked the Gambians, in that case, to force them to comply with the refugee status and to prevent them from preparing attacks against Senegal from the Gambian territory, as we do for members of the Gambian opposition."

As for Mauritania, which for a time armed the rebels and financed them from its Banjul consulate, the people I spoke with believe that it wants to come out of the isolation in which its position in the Gulf war has confined it and that, therefore, it is in its interest, if not to stop, at least to reduce its aid to the separatist movement. Even though it may continue to bomb the Fleuve villages, Dembancale for instance....

* Civilians, Military Differ

91AF1009D Dakar LE TEMOIN in French
5 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by Mamadou Oumar Ndiaye: "When Politics Is Involved...."]

[Text] After a few months' respite, we are witnessing a recrudescence of terrorist attacks in the Ziguinchor department. Kaguitt was attacked in the night of Sunday 24 February. According to official sources, the rebels killed three people; seven according to nonofficial sources. That is because some of the wounded are said to have died of their wounds.

And Sunday, around 2230 at night, the Boutoute district in the Ziguinchor suburbs became the target of the rebels. One person died in the attack. Ziguinchor, the regional capital, had not been affected for a long time. A few days before, the Youso Youtou village chief had been killed and cut to pieces. According to the rebels, he was collaborating with the army.

The separatists, who were assumed to be on their last legs, are therefore making a spectacular comeback. Army chiefs are biting their nails while politicians find it hard to conceal their jubilation. The army and the politicians, especially those belonging to the "A" trend, keep arguing in veiled terms. Between two sighs, administrative authorities too, express their disappointment. For the latter as for the army, things went too fast after the head of state appealed to the separatists to surrender, on 31 December 1990. His appeal, they say, was used for self-serving political or politician purposes. In particular, Ziguinchor politicians, those belonging to the wing represented by Mr. Robert Sagna, the mayor and general secretary of the Ziguinchor community coordinating body, are said to have rushed to ask the head of state for appeasement measures: withdrawal of the troops who indulged in exactions against civilian populations; release of the prisoners, etc. They insisted so much that, despite the opposition of army chiefs, the head of state

decided to order the troops to withdraw. That was a serious mistake, as "the rebels took advantage of our disengagement to reinfiltate the area, lay new caches, reorganize themselves, and strike with greater ease now that the way was clear," a high-ranking army officer confided. After the many attacks in the Kolda area, and especially the one against Simbandi, the military raised their voices. The head of state heard them and authorized the redeployment of the troops. Too late apparently. "When we withdrew, we had the situation well in hand; the area was well covered and the rebels were under control. All that without large-scale maneuvers or combing of the area. We were managing the situation so as to ensure the safety of the people and their property. Everything was going fine; people were starting to go normally about their business, and most schools were operating normally. Now, it will take time to restore the situation," a high official said, shaking his head sadly. In his opinion, "the government yielded too fast without getting anything in exchange; the rebels gave up nothing, not even one broken arrow, much less a firearm. As for the politicians, they got what they wanted: prisoners were released, the army had withdrawn." The army and administrative authorities saw things differently, but no one listened. "We should have asked the rebels to surrender in well-defined stages: to put down their weapons; to be identified so we could stop searching for them and to prevent possible mistakes; in exchange they would have been allowed to live in peace. As a prerequisite to a pardon they should have been asked to give up any claim to independence." According to the people I spoke with, territorial integrity is not negotiable; the rebels must put down their weapons and surrender. Period. "Everything was supposed to happen gradually, in stages. The release of the prisoners was to sanction the surrendering process. The head of state could have amnestied or pardoned whomever he wanted, as long as the rebels had put down their weapons in the meantime. Alas....," the high-ranking officer went on.

The Ziguinchor notables, whom one of the people we talked to chose to call "A-trend politicians," said he wanted, "the army to put an end to its 'exactions,' to withdraw, and the government to take back its prisoners. And do you know what they propose at the end of this process? That we should give them the radio station so they can broadcast an appeal to the rebels!"

The politicians thus mocked, speaking through Mr. Robert Sagna, mayor of Ziguinchor, believe that "the appeal to the head of state has created a dynamics for peace; for the first time, the people of Casamance are offered something other than armed struggle. According to the minister of equipment, transportation and housing, "contacts have been made with the rebels, by notables, people with deep local roots. Politicians can—and should—above all devote themselves to sensitizing the public. But large meetings are of little use in situations of this type. What is needed is underground contacts, like those currently in progress. I have confidence in the notables' efforts."

The Ziguinchor governor, General Amadou Abdoulaye Dieng, also met with the notables on Saturday 23 February. The meeting provided an opportunity to review all of the region's problems, especially those pertaining to security. The principle of a tour of explanation was adopted. The notables will soon take up their pilgrims' staffs to bring the gospel to their brothers led astray by separatism. The governor will not be outdone. He will not just explain the ins and outs of the second stage of the reform; above all, he will repeat that negotiating any kind of independence for Casamance is out of the question.

According to one of the high-ranking people I spoke with, "to tell the truth, the only notables to do good work are those of Bignona. In Bignona, they achieve good results, and Landing Sane is really not involved in these questions of separatism...."

* Economic Interests Hit

91AF1009E Dakar LE TEMOIN in French
5 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by special correspondent Mamadou Oumar Ndiaye: "Separatism: The Kolda Area, the Rebels' New Target"]

[Text] Until now relatively free from attacks, the Kolda area has been hard hit by a wave of terrorist attacks in the past three months. These were especially numerous in January and February. Some 30 raids were reported; at least officially, three people have died. But, above all, economic damages are considerable: entire villages were set on fire, granaries burnt, cattle stolen, merchants robbed, farmers despoiled of all their possessions and forced to pay a "Casamance tax," etc.

The high point of all these terrorist raids was the attack of Simbandi Balante, a large village peopled by the Balante, located on the road from Kolda to Ziguinchor, in the Diattacounda arrondissement and the Oussouye department; it took place during the night of 15 February. Over 300 people emerged from the forest and stormed the village which was plundered within a few minutes: entire groups of houses were set on fire, shops plundered and burnt; the cars parked in front of the peanut storage enclosure and on the shoulder of the road were set on fire. The assailants opened fire on a Guinean vehicle that unfortunately happened to go by: two were killed, the driver and a woman passenger. A young man named Sekou Diallo, a native of the village, received two bullets in the thigh....

Before withdrawing, the rebels left a tract recalling that "the union agreement signed with Senegal expired in 1980." According to experts, this claim, signed by the MFDC [Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance], bore the mark of the Sihalebe Diatta camp, one of the groups fighting under the freedom fighters' flag.

According to observers, we are witnessing a drift of the separatist movement; its targets are no longer just

"northern," or military, or strategic targets. They now use blind terrorism, and it is starting to look like organized crime. What we now have are professional thieves and plunderers being paid to make these raids. On 14 February, during a combing operation in the forest, the paratroopers questioned five suspicious individuals. They confessed that they were on a scouting mission in preparation for a planned attack against Goudomp. These individuals were "Menodjs," a redoubtable Guinea-Bissauan ethnic group of thieves and plunderers. The five scouts explained to the military that they were only raiders hired by the separatist movement at a bimonthly salary of 30,000 CFA [African Financial Community] francs plus a share of the loot. Two groups consisting of Menodjs and Floups, based in Windi Thiole in Guinea-Bissau, and in the Sikoum forest in Senegal, respectively, are said to be currently working for the MFDC. The loot was warehoused in Koundame, in Guinea-Bissau.

The populations in the border area as well as the Senegalese security forces point an accusing finger at Guinea-Bissau, which they claim serves as a rear base and sanctuary for the rebels. The Senegalese intelligence services have identified many villages on the other side of the border that they believe are sheltering Casamance fighters. These villages include, among others, Ngopir, Panta, and especially Ngore. In Ngore, MDFC guerrillas and "Menodj" and "Floup" raiders belonging to the movement are said to ply their trade. When he toured the area after the attack on Simbandi Balante, Governor Mamadou Mansour Ndiaye was told by the people: "The goods and stuff stolen from us are sold in full daylight on the Ngore market; if we had weapons, we would attack that village to recover our possessions." According to Senegalese politicians, the Guineans can[not] ignore these facts, especially considering that Ngore, just opposite the Senegalese village of Adeane Nding, is the location of a military camp. Some even say that the troops take their share of the loot.... Hence the angry comment of a Senegalese soldier: "Until we really go to war against Bissau, that problem will never be settled." The political and military authorities do not share this point of view (see the accompanying article). According to one politician, what we ought to do is to "close the border; it is like a sieve on the Senegalese side, whereas you cannot slip through in the other direction." All deplore the lack of troops assigned to border posts, and especially the lack of resources. The few agents who man these posts are mostly involved in collecting intelligence; they do not watch the border properly.

Meanwhile, famine has spread throughout the area. The people are totally destitute. Whether in Djibanar, Simbandi Balante, Samine, Diattacounda, or in the surrounding villages, the granaries are empty. During his tour, the governor noticed that, in most of the villages he visited, the people had not even prepared any food: the granaries are empty, the houses have been burnt to the ground, and people have no clothes to wear. It seems that emergency aid is required to aid the disaster victims....

Confronted with such a serious situation, the authorities decided to issue special authorizations to cut trees so the people could rebuild their houses. That is, those who still remain, for many have fled to Ziguinchor. Most are now in Guinea-Bissau, either because they were taken there by force by the rebels, or because they were born there and went back. Over there, they are listed as refugees, and the MFDC takes advantage of it to recruit fighters among them.

The shops are closed and the Peuls Fouta, who used to control trade in the area, have all fled. They have repatriated their capital or transferred it, for instance to Gambia. "There is no control at the border. I have never witnessed such a flight of capital," a policeman lamented.

Nearly all schools are closed; school teachers refuse to work until their safety is assured.

As for tourism, we may as well forget it. Hotel owners wonder whether they would not do better to find some other kind of activities. "You know, with the Gulf war, that spells death for tourism in this area..." the manager of a Kolda camping ground told me. The Gulf war and, more than that, the phony war in Casamance.

Sierra Leone

Officer Appeals for Foreign Aid To Fight Rebels

AB2305204791 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 23 May 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In spite of help from Guinean troops and a group of soldiers once loyal to the late Liberian President Samuel Doe, the Armed Forces in Sierra Leone are still battling a rebellion. The Sierra Leone Government claims that it was inspired by Liberian rebel leader, Charles Taylor, but he denies it. Anyway, the bulk of the recent fighting has been around the town of Daru, the site of a major Army barracks which the rebels were apparently trying to capture. Journalist Mark Huband has been to the battle area where he talked to Lieutenant J.P. Koromah and asked him how the fighting had been going for the government forces:

[Begin recording] [Koromah] We have captured so many rebels. We cannot specify the number, actually. And most of them are Liberians.

[Huband] How many of your own men have you lost since the incursion began?

[Koromah] So many.

[Huband] There has been a lot of discussion about foreign assistance to the Sierra Leonean Armed Forces, perhaps from Britain, perhaps from the United States. Do you feel as though assistance from those countries

and perhaps others is a necessary element in order for you to succeed in pushing the rebels back into Liberia?

[Koromah] Yes, of course! It is necessary to get foreign aid at this time because as at now, we do not have the necessary armament to fight the rebels.

[Huband] What do you need now, what sort of armament do you need to fight them?

[Koromah] I mean we need small arms and other support weapons to fight them.

[Huband] Do you feel you can actually hold them back for a week or a month, or how long is it before you feel that you are going to reach a point where you can no longer prevent the rebels from advancing?

[Koromah] Do you mean without foreign aid?

[Huband] Yes.

[Koromah] We can still hold them. The foreign aid is necessary to push them far forward. Without that we can still hold them.

[Huband] And how do you find the joint operations between Guinea-Sierra Leonean troops and also the

Liberian United Defense Force, the Liberians who crossed the border last year who are now fighting with you against the rebels?

[Koromah] OK, the joint operation between Guinea, Liberia, and the Sierra Leonean troops is not all that bad at all, but the only problem we are having is the training between the Liberian, Guinean, and Sierra Leonean troops. As for the Guineans, we have language problems, communication problems, OK? As for the Liberians, it is that sort of...[changes thought] the discipline is different, so to speak. As for the Guineans, their problems is, I mean command problem. Their problem is a command problem. There is no one to control when it comes to a tactical situation. All of them want to give their opinion as to how to handle this particular situation. You see? So I think that is the problem with them.

[Huband] How is morale among the Sierra Leonean troops at the moment. Are you, are you...

[Koromah, interrupting] Oh, morale is sky-high, despite the fact that we do not have the necessary equipment we want to fight, the morale is sky-high. We are still doing our level best. [end recording]

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DATE FILMED

28 May 1991

